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DANVILLE REVIEW.

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In Association of Ministers.

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DANVILLE REVIEW.

No. I V.

DECEMBER, 1864.

ART. I.—*A Christian College—Its Instruction and its Government.*

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF REV. DR. WILLIAM L. BRECKINRIDGE, PRESIDENT OF CENTRE COLLEGE.
DELIVERED IN PRESENCE OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, AND OF THE SYNOD OF KENTUCKY, IN SESSION
AT DANVILLE, OCTOBER 14, 1864.

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, Members of the Board of Trustees of Centre College:
Mr. Moderator and Brethren of the Synod of Kentucky:*

You will allow me to address myself to you all, as Guardians of the School, whose principal charge you have seen fit to assign to me.

I hold the office at your pleasure, and by your good will. On no other terms could I ever wish to hold it; and this, not only because my brethren are the persons with whom, above all others, I desire to be associated, but also and more, because the school is yours—founded, built up, and supported by the Church to which we all belong; and now, as one generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, resting on your hands, the sons come up in the place of the fathers.

Believing with you, that all events are so many Divine appointments—for even the lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord—I recognized His hand in the circumstances which have led me to this place, and I accepted the conclusion as the ordering of His Providence. Looking only at myself, I had shrunk from the difficult and solemn trust which it imposed—the more when I thought of the men whom I was to follow in this work. But looking at the whole matter, I could not do otherwise than undertake the service

to which you called me. The responsibility was, in large part, with you—my share of it being met when I should do what I could to carry out your will.

The generous confidence you have given me is the more gratefully acknowledged, because I count it a token of the Divine goodness and favor to me, that you were not only willing so to use your trust, but that you desired, without any seeking of mine, to commit these great interests to my hands.

You can not be indifferent to my opinions and my purposes concerning them. You must wish to know from myself how I propose to conduct them. And to meet your wishes in this respect, I stand here now to say plainly, in your presence, what I hold touching our work, and how I desire to perform my part of it as a servant of the Church for the Lord's sake. I trust you will approve the views which I shall submit to you. Otherwise that you will correct them, so that by your superior wisdom we may be directed in a better way.

I. First of all, then, I look upon this College as a CHRISTIAN INSTITUTION.

The people who were foremost in laying its foundations, were Christian people, drawing their principal motives herein from the interest they felt in the kingdom and glory of our Lord. They were not behind other citizens in their love for the whole country, or their concern for the honor and welfare of this Commonwealth, whose advantage they especially consulted; but in this enterprise their chief concern was about the Church, and they undertook their work, first and mainly, for the sake of the Lord Christ. They were friends of education, but they were, far more, friends of religion; and it was out of regard for this grand interest, which lay nearest to their hearts, and which, in their calm judgment, they set far above all, that they put their hands to this work. So we read every history that has been written—so we interpret every tradition that has come down to us—so we recall every recollection that abides with any of us—of the rise of this movement. I well remember it in my early days, when I was just beginning to assume the responsibilities of manhood. The ministers were gathering for this cause the gifts of the people, their offerings to the Church, for the love of Christ, and His truth as they held it. The first religious contribution of any consequence I ever made was cast into this

treasury, as the treasury of God, no less in the interest of religion than any other object of Christian benevolence.

In the early settlement of this State, our Fathers of the Presbyterian order—few in numbers, but strong in the faith which has distinguished this branch of the Church wherever it has had a place, steadfast friends of sound learning, which they held to be among the surest and best supports of true religion—set their hearts on the religious education of their children. They wished the preacher and the schoolmaster to go hand-in-hand—often, in fact, going in the same person; and wherever they set up the public ordinances of Divine worship, they desired the school-house to stand under the shadow of the house of God.

As these principles were expanded, and the means and opportunities of illustrating them achieved, they aimed to establish schools of higher grade—always to be consecrated to the Gospel, dignified by its presence, adorned by its beauty, controlled by its power. We need not trace here the circumstances which disappointed their hopes and broke up their plans, until, at length, all these were revived and brought together in the founding of this College, on which the leading men of that day in our Church laid themselves out to gather into one the interest and influence of all their people, that by these combined, with the blessing of God, they might build up an institution of learning to the praise of His name for many generations.

Such having been its origin, we might expect to find its history full of His mercies, for He has never been “unrighteous to forget the work and labor of love, which His servants have showed toward His name.” And so it has been. No smaller measure of success in any respect, than was reasonably to be looked for, in return for the exertions made, has ever discouraged its friends. No heavier disaster than is common to man, has ever cast a gloomy shade over its prospects. Its best lovers and its greatest benefactors, indeed, must go to their graves and their recompense, each at the appointed time. Its most untiring, useful, and honored servants must rest from their labors in its behalf, for God has greater works than these for them to do, in a better field than this. But heavy as these losses have been to the College, and sore as the distress and

sorrow they have brought to its friends, no misfortune has befallen it which we may not hope that time, and patience, and the blessing of God, will repair; while signal mercies have run along its track all the time—its path strewn with marvelous proofs of a kind and favoring Providence, and still more marvelous proofs of the loving kindness of sovereign and infinite grace showered down on them that were serving it, and on them that it was serving. Many of our best ministers, ruling elders, and private members of the Church, in this Synod, and away beyond its bounds, in every direction, were brought to the Saviour's feet while pursuing their studies here. If you should strike off their names from the roll of our brethren, of the living and of the dead, you would sadly mar its beautiful fullness. If the sum of their effective labors in the cause of Christ were thrown out of the grand account, and all the good He has been pleased to accomplish through them were substituted by the evil they have put down and destroyed, what a wail of anguish the reversing would bring up from many hearts, at home and abroad! for some of them have gone to distant people, and with skillful and diligent hands have scattered knowledge among the ignorant, and borne the message of grace and salvation to the heathen.

Moreover, there is reason enough to believe, that not a few young men have received religious impressions here, which were not lost when they went away; but, in God's own time, and by His merciful goodness, they were matured in the peaceable fruits of righteousness, and finally gave to the country and to the Church some of the first citizens and most useful Christians—while others, coming as young and recent servants of our Lord, grew up under the opportunities, which they enjoyed here in the pursuit of knowledge, and the means of grace, into the stature of men in Christ Jesus—some of them, able ministers of the New Testament—more of them owned and blessed of the Lord in other stations. To say nothing of many more, who, coming here without previous religious training, and either wholly indifferent to the Gospel, or prejudiced against it, were so far brought under its influence as to count themselves its friends, and to be in many ways its supporters in after-life, although we know not whether they were brought under its saving power. It has pleased God in these ways to send out

hence imperceptible but powerful forces, into families and neighborhoods, where they have done great good—especially in behalf of religion.

It has been remarkably so in the society immediately around the College, and closely connected with it. This community, contributing in many wise and generous methods to its growth and improvement, has received back again into its bosom an hundred fold for all that it has done—nay, for all that it has proposed—in this sacred work. When this house of worship was in its building, its colossal proportions, as they seemed to many, so much beyond the requirements of the occasion, the minister said, in his zeal and his hope, “We are building for the millennium.” But, as one of our brethren—himself an example of much that has been said, a son, and now a pillar of the College—lately reminded a church meeting, when he was persuading the people to rise and build another house, the millennium has not come, but the place is too strait for us—these large dimensions have shrunk to a littleness that cramps our swollen numbers. Doubtless, in the good providence and the amazing grace that have brought out this growth, many influences were at work; but no one will dispute, that for the means to this end, the College has been the principal thing—the College and the men it has gathered and held here, through so many years—especially, that eminent servant of God, who, during the lifetime of a generation, guided the College, while he preached the Gospel to this people, to whose great works you will quickly join—in your warm recollections, and in your sorrow over these bereavements, the signal abilities, and the arduous labors of his successor. And as long as the happy influence of the preaching and the lives of these, our honored brethren, shall abide among these people and their children, so long must they feel that they have reason to thank God for this Institution. I think, too, we may justly count the School of Theology, with all it has done and may yet do for this society, among the benefits it has reaped from the College. The same considerations, which prompted our fathers and ourselves to desire a school of academic instruction for our sons, led us on to desire a school of professional training for so many of them as were to be ministers of the Word. The one naturally drew

the other after it, and planted it by its side. Else the Seminary had hardly been here.

Coming to my work, then, at your bidding, I have come to it with these conceptions of it uppermost in my mind, and with the desires, which spring out of them, strongest in my heart. Nothing in the expressions of your will, when you called me to it, pleased me so well, as that which declared, "that the religious instruction of the students shall form a very special and important part of the President's labors, and that the Professors shall assist him in this work," which they are all ready to do.

I desire every good thing for these boys, and for all who shall follow them—every treasure of useful knowledge that can go to make a scholar rich—every accomplishment that may adorn a gentleman—every virtue that will give dignity to a citizen. But most of all, and far above all, I desire for them the mercy that shall make them the children of God through faith in Jesus Christ. And if, by infinite grace, I can help to lead them to His Cross, and hold them at His feet, then my work will be done the best for their welfare, and the most for your honor as over me in the Lord. We are not at liberty, and we have no heart, to do this work in a sectarian spirit—not, first and mainly, for the sake of that branch of the Church, which we love so well, but, first and mainly, to swell the company of true believers in Christ, and to save these souls from death to the glory of our Lord. To these ends, therefore, and in this spirit, with the help of God, I propose, as long as I hold this office, to direct my earnest prayers, and my diligent exertions, in preaching the Gospel, and in every other form of teaching which it may be your pleasure for me to employ.

Our precise methods of religious instruction may be most clearly set forth in the terms appointed to us by the Board of Trustees. We were required to submit to its consideration a special report, with a distinct scheme, embodying our conclusions on this subject, which, approved by the Board, became a law for us. It is now in use, with no discontent on the part of our pupils, and with hopeful promise. At the hazard of some repetition, I introduce it here:

"The President and Professors, having maturely considered the subject to which this order of the Board of Trustees refers, respectfully submit this report:

"There is no difference of opinion among us, as to the importance of this department of instruction above all others—understanding, as we do, by the religious instruction of the students, exertions to fix, in their minds, just and clear knowledge of Divine things, and to bring them, by God's blessing, under the saving influence of His revealed Word. This Institution was founded by His servants with a view to the liberal education of the sons of His people, in which they embraced, as a leading thought and a main desire, their training on Christian principles, and the constant inculcation of Divine truth—in the special hope that He would be pleased to use the work of their hands for the increase of laborers in the Gospel ministry.

"The history of the College shows that He has had respect to the desires and the exertions of His servants. The large number of ministers and other pious men, who have received their education in chief part, and in like manner their religious impressions, here, makes this very plain.

"While we thank the Lord for all His kindness in the past, we pursue our work as He will help us, in His fear, with the hope, that the favor, which He has shown to those who have gone before us herein, will not be withheld from us in our day, nor from those who shall come after us. The late manifestation of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit confirms us in this hope, and encourages us to do whatever He will enable us to do, for the promotion of the great ends of the Institution.

"We do not withhold from the Board a frank expression of our sense of the difficulties attending this work of religious instruction, even in a Christian College. The students, for the most part, come out of the families of God's people; but so many of them, as have not been renewed by His grace, come to us with the old evil heart of unbelief, and this does not love to study, as it does not love to follow, the Word of God.

"Then, there may be found some difficulty in adjusting the direct religious instruction of all the classes to their other studies, in such arrangements as will satisfy all concerned, touching the due proportions of each. It is not desirable to excite the discontent of parents, who do not highly value religious knowledge in their children, by seeming to engage their attention to it in too great proportion to other subjects of study.

"There are inconveniences, too, in calling them together at

other times than those recognized as College hours—so many of them lodging at distant places, even for miles around the town—while we do not think that much good is to be expected for the students from reluctant and compulsory attendance on religious instruction, at hours and under circumstances inconvenient and distasteful to them.

“The opinions and testimony of those, who have been engaged here, for many years, in the instruction of Bible Classes on the Sabbath day, add nothing to our confidence in this method for us, or to our hope, of much advantage from it, in the future, over the little, as we suppose, in the past time.

“Our main hope for good in this matter, rests, under God’s blessing,

“1. On the simple, clear, and faithful preaching of the Gospel—on which, we think, the students ought to be induced to wait, by all such influences as can be wisely used, and by all the attractions which can be justly offered to them—with the least that might be repulsive—reserving every authoritative requirement as a final necessity. They understand our rule, our wishes, and our expectations—and we believe they rarely violate them—while we do not habitually institute inquiries on this subject, in any formal manner.

“2. On apt, judicious, and frequent mingling, with regular instruction in their usual studies, of the applications of Divine truth to other branches of knowledge, and its appeals to the heart and the conscience. There are few, if there be any studies pursued here—we believe there are none—which do not afford occasions of doing this, if, by grace, we can use a true skill, a tender and earnest love of truth; and a deep concern for lost souls, in the improvement of these occasions.

“3. On the regular, systematic, and careful study of the Word of God, by all the classes, as a College exercise. We believe that it would comport with the pious and wise designs of the founders of this Institution—with the views of its best friends and supporters in this day—and with the solid advantage of the students, for the life that now is, and for that which is to come, to make the Sacred Scriptures a text-book for every class, throughout the entire course of instruction.

“Accordingly, we recommend to the Board of Trustees, to order an arrangement, which will give to each class a weekly

recitation on the Word of God, in our own tongue—with such use of the original as may seem meet to the instructor. And we judge, that the most suitable time for this exercise will be the first hour on Monday morning—beginning the secular labors of the week with this sacred study. We think the aim ought to be to interest the students in the Divine Word, for its plain sense—in hope that the Holy Spirit will apply it to their minds with its saving power, as that which is able to make one wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus—while we would leave the more precise methods of instruction, in their details, to the judgment of the teacher.”

II. In the second place, and subordinate only to the first, I conceive of this College as A SCHOOL FOR SOUND LEARNING. And by this I mean solid, thorough, useful education—the training of the sons of the Church, and the youth of the country who should resort to it, with such methods of instruction, and in such branches of knowledge, as would make them fair scholars. Its founders were friends of education in this sense, and were content with nothing short of this measure and extent of good learning. Few of them, perhaps, were finished scholars—few of them even aspired to this grand distinction—a rare attainment in our more favored day—impossible to many in the circumstances of those revered men. But their prevalent, if not their universal, sentiment was a high value of knowledge and wisdom, obtained by laborious study in the course of education—that is, in the pursuit of learning.

Such, beyond doubt, are the sentiments, clearly held and warmly cherished by the members of this Board of Trustees, and by the ministers and ruling elders, who compose this court of the Lord's house. I will do my utmost to carry them out, in all of which I am well assured of the cordial concurrence of my colleagues.

I draw my sense of our duty, in part, from what I understand to be your aims and wishes in this matter. You are the governors and supporters of a school in which faithful instruction is to be given, to the end that its pupils, well taught in whatever they profess to learn, may become good scholars therein. You desire no less than this for your sons, when you put them in our care. You may justly hold us to account, if we come short of our best exertions to effect it. You will

require the same for the sons of your friends, who, under the sanction of your names as you manage this great trust, commit them to our charge. We promise, in the fear of God, and out of respect to all our obligations, that we will give good instruction, and that we will do what we can to inspire our pupils with a desire to receive it. It shall be our desire, not to give them a show and pretense of knowledge; but to make them truly study, and well understand what we try to teach them—persuaded that the great ends of education are in a manner lost, if this be not gained.

Our theory is just and wise. If we could fulfill its great designs in every case, the benefits we would dispense were beyond all estimate. The elegant ornaments of a liberal education—the refining and elevating influences of good scholarship—the clearness and early maturity of thought it would impart—the fair sweep and ever-swelling force of knowledge, even in the measure of its acquisition in the College course—how well they would prepare a youth to choose his path in life, and to endure the further toil that should make him master of his calling, whatever that might be! And when this was gained, how grandly would it all impel him, as he started in his career of active labors, and usefulness, and honor! Oh! that we could make them all see how much they might gain by diligent and honest study now, and how much they are sure to lose by the lack of it! We covet this influence over them for their own sakes, and we do not forget that it would put a crown on your heads, gentlemen, and on ours. But we may not repress the mournful acknowledgment of the imperfectness of our success. As on the other and far higher interest, so on this, we are subject to many a sad disappointment. The utmost diffidence will not allow us to ascribe it to ourselves. Our brethren who have preceded us in this work, with their gifts, and skill, and large experience, were obliged to make the same acknowledgment; and we fear the day is far off, when the lamentation will be no longer repeated. Indeed, some of the obstacles to complete success are inherent in the nature of things, and it is impossible to remove or overcome them. Some of them belong to the times we live in, and these will give way when the times shall change, and better days shall come again. Some of them are due to the state of our

society, irrespective of these times, and these it belongs to the friends of education, and to institutions of learning, to correct; for it is one of their uses to mold the public sentiment, and give to the people just opinions and right desires concerning education. I judge that the principal method by which they may hope, with the Divine blessing, to achieve these great objects, is the pursuit of their aim, amid all difficulties, to make good scholars.

This is our work—to make good scholars. One of the principal difficulties we have to contend with, is the natural repugnance of so many to close thought and hard study—and there is no path to the knowledge we speak of which does not lead through these. Then we must have trouble with all of this class.

The dull and the inert can not learn any thing, which requires much mental exertion, without a degree of labor very great to them; and these unhappy infirmities often preclude the irksome toil. Some of these, indeed, are blessed with a desire to obtain knowledge, and other motives, also, impel them to the effort. But it is a slow and tedious process, which seldom gathers more than a very small stock. Others of them want these motives, as they lack the capacity of quick attainments; and thus the utmost exertions to which their indifference can be moved, often come to nothing. I do not say, they had all better be at home; for at school they may learn something, and the entrance of a little light may invite a little more, until, as sometimes comes to pass, long and toilsome study receives its just reward. The heavy boy, indeed, comes out the heavy man; but, at last, his well-drilled and well-stored mind is the honorable distinction of a student and a scholar.

Those of more lively turn, and of quicker powers, from whom, for their brightness, we look for much, sometimes give still greater trouble, and wind it up in sorrowful disappointment. Such often presume on their quickness, and hope to make up thereby for the manly toil they are not willing to endure. Conscious that, with less of exertion, they could accomplish more than others of slower thought, they are improvident of time, fitful, irregular, and thus they allow themselves to be left behind, when they are able to be foremost. How can we make scholars, even of the brightest, who will not be students?

There are, unhappily, many other forms in which this aversion to close and diligent occupation in study betrays itself and obstructs our work. Some will give attention only to such studies as they fancy they have a special taste for—which are, for the most part, of easy acquisition—the more difficult being out of the line of this kind of taste. Some are given to change—persuading themselves that they have learned enough in this department, and proposing to pass into that, although they have mastered nothing. Others are too fond of company, and love to spend time in society, which ought to be given to their books. And all this trouble is greatly enhanced with many by their interest in public affairs. In full sympathy with the universal and intense agitation of the people, the young, like ourselves, are eager for the news. These themes have no place in our personal intercourse with them, and are excluded from their public exercises; but they can not be shut out from their thoughts, or stripped of the power to impede their studies. No wonder that often their minds are hardly held to their work, and easily drawn to more exciting subjects.

It is a multiform, and it is a sore evil—this dread of grappling with difficulties in the struggle for knowledge. Certainly it is our duty to meet it at every point and in every shape it takes, and to do all that may be in our power to overcome it, and to supplant it with a better spirit. And, doubtless, the wisdom and the skill of a true teacher find some of their best uses herein—to quicken sluggish insensibility into active life—to reduce the impatience of the restless and the wayward to sober and steady occupation—to strip the text-book and the blackboard of all that is repulsive, and make the recitation an agreeable entertainment. But if any, who are over us, think it easy to be done, and look for us to do it oftener than in some happy cases, we cheerfully offer them our seats, and will stand, as rulers in their stead, while they try to do it.

The young are the less to be blamed for all this, because they have not yet learned better. They are yielding to an influence natural to the most, the evil of which they can not be expected to understand, for they do not clearly perceive the uses of learning, and can not rightly estimate the value of knowledge. The fault is far greater with them who ought to know better, and

by these a principal obstruction is thrown in our way. It is the extremely inadequate view, which is taken of the whole subject by so many people, who call themselves the friends of education. I speak not in bitterness, but in sorrow, when I express the conviction, drawn from all my observation, especially as a teacher, that the public mind is sadly wanting in a clear understanding of what it is to educate our children, and in a right appreciation of its benefits. There are many parents and other persons having the control of youth, who seem to take no distinction between going to school and learning something—between the form and ceremony of attending College, and the actual acquiring of knowledge. No wonder their sons do also confound things which are totally distinct. It is not unusual for students, so called, to repair to College in expectation of gaining something—they know not what—by methods they have never considered, in seasons too brief for any object, which requires time and labor. Others, whose notions are not quite so vague or so crude, and who propose a longer time and a more liberal course, have yet no conception of being thoroughly taught. The patient, steady, rigid drilling of the mind, which is so necessary and so large a part of education, enters not into their thoughts. They say they want to learn some things, and that is all they aspire to—leaving out of their scheme, if we may call it so, the very things it were best for them to learn. The wisdom and experience of ages—the great multitude of scholars, who have made teaching their study and their work, with the general consent of the lovers of knowledge and learning, in remarkable harmony—have brought out, as their best conclusion, what we call a course of study. I do not say it is the best that is possible. It is enough for me to say, it has been received as the best that is attainable, and it is in use by principal schools of higher grade all over the country.

What is plainer than that the people who propose to educate their sons, ought to accept it gladly, and persuade them to pursue it faithfully to the letter, all through to its close? Instead of this, many a hand—the hands of the advocates of sound education, the hands of the friends of good learning, so they count themselves—we see laid upon it, to mar its beauty, and rob it of its power. And we are obliged to stand by, and let them do it.

I say I find little fault with the boys. They have heard at home, and from friends and neighbors, older and wiser than themselves, that the College course is too long, and that much of it may be left out, with little or no loss. They are allowed, if not encouraged, to attempt a short and easy method, with the strange delusion, that this will give them a respectable education.

There are youths, no doubt, whose time is very short—all that can be withdrawn from the necessities of their condition, even for the sake of knowledge—and whose circumstances, if not narrow, are at least restricted to small expenditures, but who do ardently desire to make the most of these orderings of Providence. Profound respect is due to an ingenuous youth, who bears himself with manliness and honor, in any right pursuit, and every encouragement and opportunity we can offer ought to be freely afforded to him to learn all he can, if it were for no more than an hour. But this is another matter, every way different from the choice of a brief and meager course—so like derision of the long exertion and the laborious culture which make a scholar—refused, with time enough, if life continue, and means enough at free command.

There is another form in which this shallow view of education exposes itself, closely allied to this, and not less injurious. It is the extremely imperfect state of primary instruction. So many come to us, no way prepared as they ought to be, for the classes they propose to enter. Some are so deficient in the rudiments of learning, and so poorly taught in what they think they know, that they must take lower places than they desire; and when admitted to these, they must go over what they ought to have learned long ago. And this almost makes certain a slow and halting gait throughout their journey, to say nothing of the labor of elementary instruction it unjustly imposes here, which belongs elsewhere. I offer no complaint against the teachers, from whom they come to us. Some of them have the same difficulties to contend with in their places, that trouble us in ours. These commonly give to their pupils all they are willing to receive. It is mainly due to the low, obscure, narrow views, that are so often taken of the nature, the methods, and the uses of mental cultivation; and then it comes out of the haste and impatience of the people, in the practica'

education of their children, and their neglect, or unwillingness, to require them to be soundly taught in all they profess to learn.

I have thought it my duty to say so much—mournful, indeed, but its utterance not to be forborne. I have said it, not to discourage you or ourselves, our pupils or their friends, but to rouse us all to a just sense of our obligations in this great concern.

You will not, I trust, infer, from any thing that has been said, the slightest disparagement of the young gentlemen here before you. They fairly represent the youth of the country. They are just like those who have adorned these halls year after year from the beginning—not a few of whom are now the leading men in all affairs—of which all my brethren are witnesses, and some of them are examples. Some of these will make their mark in like manner. Meanwhile, as a body, they are pursuing their studies with commendable diligence, and in their general deportment they are conducting themselves, as far as I know, with exemplary propriety. I deem myself happy in having them under our care, and I congratulate you, gentlemen, who have rule over us all, on their presence in this school to-day.

III. It remains for me to say a few things concerning GOVERNMENT and DISCIPLINE, so far as these have been put into my hands.

It has been well said, as I believe, that the world is governed too much. I take the principles which control all things to be few and simple. The Supreme Moral Law, divinely given, is summarily comprehended in the Ten Commandments. A great expositor, who was taught of God, explaining the duties of our political and social relations, having rehearsed a few plain rules, declares that all the balance may be reduced to a single head; for, if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in one saying, which exhausts the subject. I suppose, then, that small communities, at least, are best governed by a few comprehensive rules, easily understood, easily remembered, easily observed—commending themselves to the judgment of all—kindly, but firmly enforced.

There is a fine example in the wisdom of Dr. Kane, setting out for the Polar seas. "We did not sail," he says, "under

the rules that govern our national ships; but we had our own regulations, well considered and announced beforehand, and rigidly adhered to afterward, through all the vicissitudes of the expedition. These included, first, absolute subordination to the officer in command; second, abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, except when dispensed by special order; third, the habitual disuse of profane language. We had no other laws."

It is according to this general view of the subject, that I propose to conduct the rule of this College, as I share it with my colleagues. Proceeding on such principles of government, I desire to keep, in my own heart, a spirit conformable to them; and trying to govern others, to endeavor to govern myself—remembering how Infinite Wisdom has taught us, that "the slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city." I assume concerning every pupil, and am slow in coming to doubt of any, that he is imbued with sentiments of virtue and honor, which make a true gentleman. I shall aim to feel toward him, as far as possible, and always to treat him, as if he were my son—offering him my counsel, as he may seem to me to need it, whether in the way of commendation, or reproof—whether as to his soul, or his studies—trying to guard him against the harm that he may do himself; and if he be likely to suffer any damage from others, doing my utmost to protect him. I shall never treat him otherwise than in a frank and open manner—despising in my heart the method of control, that would bid me watch him, or make another a spy on his actions. I greatly desire that he shall give me his confidence; and the way to win it, and to make him a just return for it, is to give him mine. I believe that, under such a rule as these thoughts suggest, our boys would govern themselves far better than we can govern them under any other. And in every case in which it wholly fails, after a fair trial, then he had better go home—if not on his own account, certainly on ours, and for the sake of his companions here. And this is often better done in a silent and quiet way, than by open and formal discipline, whether respect be had to the youth himself, to his friends, or to the College.

You will allow me the freedom of expressing my opinion

concerning certain principles, which have long had place in the government of many colleges, and which are still upheld and approved as just and wise, perhaps necessary to good discipline. If the mention of them seem needless among us, or if my views of them exceed the respectful and diffident reserve, which it becomes me to use in allusion to other Institutions, I hope to be justified by my desire to be understood on the whole subject, and by my unwillingness to appear, through my silence, to consent to principles which I think false and mischievous in application to college government. I refer to laws, which, apparently likening students in the college to citizens in the Commonwealth, subject them to like rules, in requiring them to give testimony against each other, when charged with offenses which need to be proved—laws, which, going a great way beyond this, when disorders have been committed, but suspicion has attached to none in particular, allow them all to be called on to say, whether they have taken part in these disorders—requiring each one to purge or criminate himself, under heavy penalties in case of refusal to answer. I use the mildest expressions on this subject, when I say, that I do not accept these methods of governing a college. I do not conceive of it, as of a State, with its courts, and its witnesses, and its grand juries. Still less do I conceive of its power, as stern and inexorable in its search after evil-doers. It is to me more like a family, with its pious care, its anxious oversight, and its parental government; and when I could guide it no longer with this method, and in this spirit of control, I should desire to give it up. I am obliged, then, to declare that I could have no share in executing laws, of which I have felt it my duty to speak in these terms.

I am happy to suppose, that so far as they have had any place here, it has, in the main, been as so many dead letters; and I venture to express the hope, that whenever they engage the attention of the Board of Trustees, they will be formally laid aside. These young men will take no advantage of their absence; on the contrary, if they had ever been thought of as binding, their removal will give greater dignity to all that remain, in the eyes of these ingenuous and manly youths. They know, as we do, that such laws could not be enforced, to any serious effect, among the sons of our people—the cool

judgment of the people, and the warm impulses of their sons equally against them. And for myself, I greatly desire it to be known by all, that it is not your pleasure that any part of our rule shall be conducted on these principles.

And now let me remind my brethren, that we, whom they have put in charge of this Christian College, with its solemn trusts, and its great work, need all the support your wisdom can give us every way. While we look for the direction of your counsel and authority, we earnestly ask you and your people to help us with your prayers, that, by Sovereign Grace, we may stand in our lot, and quit ourselves like men. Our fathers, where are they! Our brethren, so many of them gone from us, and we must follow them! The time that remains to us is short, and it warns us to accept the lesson of infinite wisdom and goodness, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest."

ART. II.—*The Freedom of the Will, as a basis of human responsibility and a Divine government, elucidated and maintained in its issue with the necessitarian theories of Hobbes, Edwards, the Princeton Essayists, and other leading advocates.* By D. D. WHEDON, D. D. THIRD EDITION. NEW YORK: CARLTON & PORTER. 1864. pp. 438.

LANGUAGE is conventional, although originally given by inspiration of God. Words are arbitrary instruments of suggestion, rather than vehicles of thought. At his creation, as the history shows, man was endowed with ideas to some extent, and with language, by which to express them. After this primitive furniture, he was left to increase his stock of words, as his stock of ideas increased and created the necessity. Nevertheless, both the concreated speech and the super-added words were, and continued to be, conventional. That is, you and I, and all with whom we have occasion to interchange ideas, agree, that the word *horse*, for example, (written

or spoken,) shall be the instrument, not of originally *creating* in the minds of others—for this it can never do; but of calling up or suggesting—of reproducing the conception of a certain quadruped. If the conception or idea had not previously existed in our minds, the word could never produce it. Custom-use-settles the meaning of words, and the mode of their connection in speech. Horace might have omitted the *almost* and affirmed use to be the *norma loquendi*—the law of speech. If, therefore, a writer or speaker deviate from common use, and is, therefore, misunderstood, and suffers from such misunderstanding, the fault is his own. When he uses terms in a different sense from what reputable use has decided; or when he introduces new terms, hitherto unknown in the language he proposes to employ, it must be on account of its poverty, or because he does not intend he shall be understood. My fears are always stirred when a man can not make himself understood, when he hides under vague and novel terminology; he is like a snake in the grass, hard to find, and therefore dangerous. I would rather, in such case, deal with a rattlesnake, than with a copperhead. The former you can find by throwing in a stick or a stone; but the latter, how can you locate him?

This bit of philology is suggested by the very unusual number of such words in the book before us. They meet us in the index, in the first chapter and the last, and in all between. Of this we have just reason to complain. No man has a right to introduce such a mass of outlandish terms into the English language; no more than Solomon's courtiers had to introduce such a body of outlandish women into the purlieu of the court. We have made a list of the chief of them, and here they are—ninety in number. Let the reader try his patience on them, bearing in mind that they are all excluded from Webster, (edition of 1848,) and that there are many others in our volume, equally unused and outlandish, which Webster has honored with space in his great work, viz.: Volitional, freedomism, thought-circle, motive-object, choice-object, equilibrium, post-volitional, homiletically, volitivity, unfreedom, self-superinduction, sub-consciousness, pluri-efficient, preferability, preferential, non-differentiation, volitionality, alteriety, alternativity, unipotence, unification, formulated, post-volition-

ally, volitionate, unitary, securative, choosable, either-causal, intinted, doable, intuitu, mustness, definiting, non-commensurability, equipotent, inalternativity, unequivocalities, non-resultance, forth-putting, pluripotent, unipotent, alternativity, abstractionism, resultancy, experiential, unexperienceable, unthinkability, pre-volitional, predestinarianists, necessitative, limitative, unisubstanceism, volitionally, antecedent, experiential, motive-meter, superexperientially, freedomist, a can be, a will be, a never will be, rightest, sequently, anteriorly, unethical, significates, exceptionlessly, the can be otherwise, the must be, the can be no otherwise, the agent-power, the have become, the now being performed, timelessness, theodirie, dehumanize, guilts, damnability, primordially, educable, subconsciousness, lenitude, proportionment, automatically, probationarily, defectus.

Now, reader, with such a vocabulary, and many other barbaric but obsolete terms, in which to clothe his thoughts, you will expect from our author frequent unintelligibility, and will not be surprised at such sentences as the following, which we present simply as a sample of style and sentiment, viz.:

"An apple is chosen for its sweetness, as motive; a rose for its beauty; a perfume for its fragrance. At other times there is a separate motive-object, which invests the object of choice with its motivity. The game is the motive for which the sportsman chooses a gun; money is the object for which the laborer toils. Yet, after all these motive-objects lend their motivity to the choice-object, and thereby render it the choice-object, it is the motivity by which the object of volition becomes its object. The motivity is the true object in the object, and is really chosen in it," p. 172.

Again, pp. 223-4: "The doctrine that the *will always can but never will* volitionate for weaker motive, is supposed by its advocates to be covered by the maxim, which they illustrate by various instances, that *many things can be, but never will be*. That maxim is true, but it does not cover the doctrine. Theirs is a *never-will-be* of a specific and a peculiar kind, under conditions and presuppositions that nullify the *can-be*. When a *will-be* or *never-will-be*, under a certain fixed sort of condition, results with absolute uniformity, even upon an infinite number of repetitions of the experiment, including all possible cases, then a reverse *can-be*—either to the given *will-be* or given *never-will-be*—is impossible.

The *will-be*, or *never-will-be*, is, then, a necessity, and not a mere certainty." Such is a sample, quoted exactly, of the uses to which our author puts this new language; and sure I am, the reader will ask no more examples; and I pray, excuse me for what has been done. Shut your eyes, if the light be too brilliant for a steady gaze. The reader may also note, in both these quotations, examples of my

2. Minor criticism on the book, viz.: carelessness in regard to punctuation and grammar. The reader has had difficulty in understanding the former quotation, for want of a comma after the word "all,"—making the preposition *after* govern "all these motive-objects," contrary to the author's design, which, after the scrutiny of two or three readings, we find to be thus: "Yet, after all, these motive-objects," etc. In the latter quotation, five points are required by the rules of punctuation. This little fault is exemplified on almost every page of the book, making it probable that the author (as do the English *literati*) left this whole matter to his proof-reader. But the most injurious offense to grammar is that against the rule, which construes the present participle as a noun, whenever it has an article prefixed, and requires a preposition to follow for the government of the subsequent noun: ex gr., p. 274, "The knowing it, therefore," etc.; p. 324, "The denying the freedom of man," etc.; p. 228, "This *securing* the event," etc. Doubt is sometimes also created by obscurity of antecedent. An example meets us on the title-page: "elucidated and maintained in its issue," etc. What is the antecedent to "its?" Whose or what's issue? I am positively unable to determine. After patient and laborious reading of the whole book, my mind—not my will or desire—but my *mind*—my judging power, holds up her scales in *equalebrio*. But we may not dwell on these trifles.

3. "Style is the man himself"—the peculiar mode in which a person expresses his thoughts. Here Dr. Whedon has asserted *his* freedom. He is bold, dashing, self-confident, not always the most courteous and respectful toward "the king's English." Of course, a work professedly controversial may not be expected to deal always, or even generally, in honeyed words. Accordingly, we find a goodly amount of the cut-and-slash style of the guerrilla band, rather than the calm, silent and sure

approaches of the sapper and miner—the regular closing in of lines drawn by the skillful engineer.

Indeed, bold self-confidence, in style, matter and manner, is a *necessity* in the Arminian theory; it flows from that philosophy as necessarily as any consequent within the range of mental movements flows from its antecedent. How could it be otherwise in the operations of a mind that places its own *will* outside of and independent on the decrees, purposes, foreknowledge, and omnipotence of God? This is characteristic—not, indeed, of Dr. W. so much as of the philosophy he advocates; and we should fault him not simply for the necessity which shuts him up to this style, but rather for the voluntary advocacy of the very doctrines whose entertainment creates this necessity. Like every other necessity of consequence, it is the antecedent mental state that gives moral character to the actions they necessitate. Like causes produce like effects, (or, if not, inductive philosophy is dead, and Bacon and Newton were fools); and, consequently, wherever we find this philosophy intelligently held, we find this characteristic abounding. I say intelligently held, for it is most assuredly true that many profess Arminianism who are sound Calvinists, and we shall see anon whether Dr. W. be not in this category. At present, it seems proper to exhibit a sample of this bold, dogmatic, dictatorial style. Turn to page 277. The author is demolishing Edwards' argument from Divine foreknowledge in support of the certainty of future events, and their consistency with man's moral agency:

"We have, then, before us the true, distinct conception of a **FREE TOTALITY** of free volitions; the infinite, universal, eternal *system* of *free events*, which, while they are each one able to be otherwise than *thus*, yet will freely be *thus*; and, while they are able to be *thus*, and truly *will* and *do be thus*, are able to be otherwise than *thus*. Now, of this *free totality*, thus clearly, we trust, conceived, our doctrine affirms that it exists in the anterior omniscience of God, and *is the very future totality which God foreknows*. It is that grand totality (each item of which *will be* with full *power otherwise*) which is the totality embraced in God's foreknowledge. And just because it is this grand, free, alternative totality which stands included in God's foreknowledge, therefore God's foreknowledge embraces a grand, free, alternative totality," etc.

Take another example, p. 208: "Would any sensible man give a flip of a copper for choice between damnation for necessary action and damnation for necessitated being? Is a necessitated motion any more responsible than a necessitated quietude? Motion or action is simply change in space or time. Is necessitated change any more guilty than necessitated sameness? Necessitated motion is, in fact, necessitated being; *being* necessitated to exist in different successive spaces. But why is necessitated being in different successive spaces any more responsible than necessitated being in the same space through successive time? God can as well necessitate me to *be* a certain thing, and then damn me for it, as necessitate me to *do* a certain thing, and damn me for it," etc.

4. Another remark—unpleasant for me to make—in which my judgment and the dependent volition run counter to desire, is this, that the reasonings of the book are generally difficult to comprehend. Especially is this so, in regard to vital points in the discussion, where feeling seems to confuse perception, and thus, combining with the use of the new language, mystifies the whole process; and while the reader is laboring in the darkness and confusion after the premises, lo! he stumbles, to his utter bewilderment, upon the conclusion. We found this ground of complaint in *Tappan on the Will*. Many instances also occur in *Bledsoe's Theodice*, though there is there a much more accurate language, and a greatly superior logic. I may say, with truth, that these authors contain most of the matter of this book before us, and it strikes me, the acknowledgments are not quite as full and candid as they might be.

5. Another remark, prefatory to entering upon the essential points of the discussion, is that stated by Isaac Taylor, viz.: What greater compliment could be paid to any author than that very numerous opponents, both in his own country and foreign lands, have been reduced to the dire necessity of putting in a bald protest against this one small work, and of saying, Edwards must be wrong, for he overthrows our argument? (This is quoted from memory, but is substantially correct. See Introduction to Edwards.)

See the *Princeton* for October, p. 679: "However successful or unsuccessful these attempts, they are certainly renewed testimonies of the highest order to the mighty power and ada-

mantine logic of that great work." . . . "Surely there must be some strength in a fortress which having survived all other assaults from the Old World and the New, for nearly a century, followed by the fierce bombardment of Tappan and Bledsoe here, still abides to challenge the cautious sapping and mining of Howard, along with the furious and desperate storming of Whedon."

6. It is worthy of special notice, that this work is almost purely rationalistic. It does not, indeed, expressly repudiate Scripture, but almost entirely ignores it. Even when answering Edwards' argument from foreknowledge, where that divine quotes and cites hundreds of Scripture texts, the response almost wholly excludes the Divine Record. If an infidel philosopher—if a Hume, or a Hobbes, or a Chubb—were discussing this subject formally, as a mere philosophical question, such ignoring of Scripture would not surprise us. But when a Christian divine responds to the argument of another divine, under the heading, "THE THEOLOGICAL ARGUMENT," when his opponent quotes and cites hundreds of Scriptures, and the respondent ignores the whole, or nearly so, it does seem to us passing strange! And this astonishment is not diminished when the eye falls upon such passages as the following: "The PROPHECIES of Scripture, were they ten times more numerous and explicit than they are, *furnish no argument for necessity or predestination*. Men are adequate to falsify both Divine foreknowledge and Divine predestination. *The free agency of Jesus was uncontradicted by the predictions of his conduct. He himself affirms his own full power to falsify the predictions of the Old Testament.*"—p. 281.

From this we are referred to a subsequent page (310), where occurs the rarity of several Scripture quotations, but their relevancy to this point is not easily seen: "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity," etc.; "The Lord hath opened mine ears, so that I was not rebellious, neither turned away my back," etc.; "Thinkest thou that I CAN NOT now pray to my Father," etc.

7. But I must resist motives which urge me to deal in further general remarks, and come to the more important matter of the book.

And, first, let us define terms. I have no doubt that much

of this controversy, as of most others in morals, theology, and politics, may be abated, if not entirely removed, by fixing the conventional meaning of words.

WILL is used as a noun in four distinct senses: (1.) It means that power, faculty, or property of the mind or soul, which is exerted when we pass volitions; as in the title of the book—Edwards on the *Will*. (2.) It is often used to express a decision of the understanding—a judgment of the mind; as when a man makes his *will*; that is, decides and utters his determination as to the disposal of his property after his death. (3.) And this same, objectively considered—the document is called his *will*. (4.) It is also used as a synonym for *desire*; as when the servant obeys the summons into his master's presence, and inquires, "What's your *will*, sir?" What do you wish or desire to be done?

As a verb, will, as an auxiliary in the first person, includes the conception of an action lying in the future, and of a purpose or determination of the speaker to accomplish said action. In the second and third persons, it expresses simply the futurity of the act.

Volition is the verbal noun formed from the verb will, and, of course, describes the action or operation of willing—the soul exercising the Faculty No. 1.

It will be seen at once, that we differ from Edwards and Locke, both of whose definitions of will are too loose, and most of the words used by them bring us within the regions of the intellect. "So that whatsoever names," says Edwards, p. 14, "we call the act of the will by, *choosing, refusing, approving, disapproving, liking, disliking, embracing, rejecting, determining, directing, commanding, forbidding, inclining, or being averse, or being pleased or displeased with*; all may be reduced to this of *choosing*. For the soul to act *voluntarily* is ever more to act *electively*,"—and he quotes Locke: "The will signifies nothing but a power or ability to *prefer or choose*."

Dr. Whedon defines will in the fourth sentence of his first chapter, thus: "The will is the volitional power, by which alone the soul consciously becomes the intentional author of external action—external, that is, to the will itself—whether of mind or body." p. 13. Now, reader, study this closely. Do you not wish to interrogate it? Every definition ought to be

clearer than the thing defined. Is this so? Will is *volitional power*; (1.) What is power? (2.) What does *volitional* mean? (3.) By this volitional power, and by this alone, the soul becomes an author, consciously and intentionally—the author of what book? (4.) This action, of which the soul is sole author, is external to the will itself—how can “the will,” “the volitional power,” become author of an action—whether of body or mind—outside of itself? (5.) Is the will a person? It has consciousness, and power, and intention, or design and purpose, is the will an intelligent agent? Is the thing made clear by this definition? The Doctor seems to think not, for he tries it again, p. 15—“We might define will to be that faculty of the mind, in whose exercises there is not felt the element of necessity.” Most convenient definition for an Arminian or Pelagian! for it assumes the point at issue. He quotes and objects, properly, to Edwards’ definitions. Then gives us Coleridge’s, as nearly approved, viz.: “Will is that which originates action or state of being.” Not satisfied with this, he gives us his own third definition, p. 15: “We define will to be *that power of the soul by which it intentionally originates an act or state of being*. Or more precisely, *Will is the power of the soul by which it is the conscious author of an intentional act*.” In these, being the third and fourth efforts at definition, there is an example of the unhappy confusion caused by vagueness of the antecedent—“it intentionally originates”—what is the antecedent of “it?” Is it *will*? or *power*? or *soul*? In the fourth—“it is the conscious author.” What? The Will? Power? or Soul? “And this definition furnishes a complete demonstration that the will is a clearly different faculty from any other in the mind; for it is always distinguished and characterized by the *intention*, and also, as we shall hereafter note, by *motive*. Volition, indeed, might be defined as that act of the mind which it performs with intention.” Here we have the first of thirty-three instances which I have marked, in which Dr. W. gives up the point in controversy; for he includes *motive* and *intention* in his very definition of will. This is our doctrine—that the *motive* precedes the volition. Here, also, we have a most unique case, where a controversialist, full of fire and fury, secures, as he asserts, a demonstration in his own behalf, in the very act of giving a definition of one single word used in the

controversy. "He that is first in his own cause seemeth just; but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him."

Desire may be analyzed into *uneasiness*, a vague and undefined resistance in the soul against it—the active, yet undirected exercise of the law of self-love; and, when an object is conceived as capable of removing the uneasiness, the out-going of the soul after that object. Hence, Locke held that uneasiness moves the will. Edwards' is quoted and misconceived by Dr. W. as confounding desire and volition. This allegation is partly true, and only partly. But I am not here to defend Edwards. No such presumption shall be charged upon me. The truth I hope to vindicate.

A voluntary act is an act of the mind, willing—or passing a volition. What is the object of that action? In the response, I venture, not without some diffidence, to commit an idiosyncrasy. The only direct object of a voluntary act is the bodily organism—the brain, the nerves, the muscles of the body. On these only does the volition terminate. *The human will can do nothing else but move the body.* Only two reasons have we space now to give in support of this position: and they must be stated very briefly. (1). By a voluntary act men always mean an outward—an external movement: we never mean an internal or purely mental movement; as if the will moved the other mental faculties immediately—as if thoughts were under the direct control of the will. For (2) man has no power directly to will a thought into his own mind. Volition is never the direct and immediate parent of a thought. If you choose to define a thought, a *state of mental activity*, then my affirmation is, that no thought ever acknowledged volition as its immediate father.

This doctrine you will find in the books. Dugald Stewart gives us a natural and conclusive reason in support of it. The idea of willing a thought into the mind, presupposes it already in the mind, or how could it otherwise be the object of volition? But, waving for a moment this cogent argument, and supposing it otherwise—supposing *thoughts* to be direct objects of volition—or will's action, what then? Why, then, mental labors would cease within the whole field of investigation and research. Who would be such a fool as to rack his brain in study, and consume the midnight gas in pursuit of knowledge?

He has only to will it, and all the démonstrations of science, and all the grand conceptions of poetry and the entire Cosmos, are present to his thoughts. What fools Humboldt, and Bacon, and Newton, and La Place, and Gæthe, and Milton! Why, a few volitions can instantly and directly pour into my capacious soul all the trains of thought and all the knowledge which these miserable drivellers acquired by their life-long labors! Thus we have another *argumentum ad absurdum* against the idea, that direct volition can create thoughts.

8. If now the question arise, how does the will (1) move the body? what is the connection—in other words, the cause of this uniform sequence? what necessitates bodily motion immediately to follow volition? I answer, so God has ordained it; but He has not pointed out in His word, nor has He yet enabled man to discover and understand how spirit acts upon matter, or how matter may be so used as to influence spirit. No Ellet has ever yet engineered a bridge across the Niagara that divides between Pneumatology and Ontology. The fact of the sequence we know. When I will it, my hand rises and falls. When the volition passes, my feet, obedient, carry me along. Is there any philosopher yet foolish enough to deny the uniformity of the sequence? or its necessity? or to pretend that he can explain the phenomenon?

9. In close connection with this, we may note, as a necessary antecedent of volition, faith in ability to perform the voluntary action. No man can put forth a volition to perform an action, unless he believes he has the physical power necessary for the act. That such belief is an indispensable antecedent to volition, appears to me self-evident. I am not certain whether Dr. W. admits or denies this necessity in his critic upon Dr. Chalmers, p. 17; but I suppose he is necessitated to agree with his friend Prof. Tappan, who declares he can put forth a volition to upturn a mountain! The absurdity lies, doubtless, in some peculiar meaning of the words. I can *will* to expend or exercise my muscular strength in lifting at a rock of ten tons weight; but to *will* to lift it, is a pure absurdity. The will is subordinated to the faith in natural, just as in spiritual things. Until he believed, the man had no power to lift his withered hand; until he exercises true faith, the sinner has no ability—he can not come to the Father.

Choice, which Edwards improperly uses to express an act of the will, and makes equivalent to volition, is, in my apprehension, an operation of the understanding. The very best service which Cousin has done in his *Psychology*, and which atones, in some degree, for the many errors and mistakes he commits in regard to Locke's doctrine, is where he draws the line of demarcation between the domain of the intelligence and of the will. See p. 316. "Now, to prefer, supposes that we have motives of preference, motives to perform the action, and motives not to perform it; that we know these motives; and that we prefer the one to the other; in a word, preference supposes the knowledge of motives for and against. What these motives are, whether passions, or ideas, errors or truths, this or that, is of little moment; what is important is to know what is the faculty here in operation, that is to say, what the faculty is which knows these motives, which prefers one to the other, which judges that the one is preferable to the other, for that is the meaning of the word prefer. Now, what is it that knows and judges but the intellect? The intellect, then, is the faculty which prefers. . . . What is it to deliberate? It is nothing else than to examine with doubt, to appreciate the relative weight of these different motives which present themselves, but not at first with that evidence which decides the judgment, the preference. Now, what is that which examines, doubts, and finally decides? Evidently the intellect, which, subsequently, after having passed many provisional judgments, will abrogate them all, in order to pass its final judgment, will conclude and prefer after having deliberated. It is in the intellect that the phenomenon of preference, and the other phenomena included in it, take place. . . . Deliberation and conclusion or preference, are, then, facts purely intellectual, p. 317. . . . Now, the faculty which says, I ought to do it, is not and can not be the faculty which says, I will to do it; I take the resolution to do it. Here the action of the intelligence completely ceases. I ought to do it, is a judgment; I will to do it, is not a judgment, nor consequently an intellectual phenomenon. In fact, the moment we take the resolution to do an action, we take it with a consciousness of being able to take a contrary resolution." Here is the grand error—the power to contrary of New Haven—and the power of alteriety, or the immunity of Dr. W. to put forth

a volition the contrary of the volition actually put forth. Of this hereafter. We proceed with Cousin, who now comes over, like our author, entirely to our side of the question. Thus, p. 318: "To will is an act and not a judgment; but it is an act altogether internal. It is evident that this act is not an action properly so called; in order to arrive at action, it is necessary to pass from the internal sphere of the will to the sphere of the external world, wherein the action is definitely accomplished which you first conceived, deliberated on, and preferred, and then willed that it should be executed. If there were no external world, there could be no completed action, and not only is it necessary that there should be an external world, but also that the power of willing should be connected with another power, a physical power, which serves as an instrument, and by which it can attain the external world."

Here is dependence of volition; not, indeed, upon its proper antecedents, as Cousin has justly and very properly stated them, but he holds the *necessary* dependence of the volition upon its connection with our material organism. "It is necessary to pass from the internal sphere of the will"—"it is necessary, not only that there should be an external world, but also that the power of willing should be connected with another power—a physical power—our brain, nerves, and muscles, as I stated above—all these necessities lie in the way of the will, and estop volition." This is necessitarianism—a little too strong for us Calvinists. It would better suit the Greek Stoic.

"Freedom is *exemption*."—p. 23. I should rather say, freedom is action according to law; and this is true both in regard to dead matter and living mind. The use of this word is very important to the Arminian in his dealing with the uneducated mind, who, alas! too *naturally* cling to the phrase *free will*, meaning thereby *exemption* from the strict bonds of law. It popularizes the erroneous, and utterly hides away the true issue. Who can be found opposed to freedom? Are we to be bound, like slaves, to the car of necessity, so that we can not do the thing that we would? Who will dare to call in question our freedom, and rob us of the liberty of choosing our own course? Thus prejudice works upon ignorance, and perverts truth and justice; and if we could believe it was done ignorantly, it would

relieve us from many unpleasant feelings, and help us to endure the wrong with patience. This can not be, however, as long as we see so artful a working of this prejudice in this book. To enhance his unjust advantage in this particular, its author exercises his inventive genius in the manufacture of new words, to catch the ear of the loose-thinking. Hence, we have free-will, and *freedomist*, and *freedomism*, constantly occurring, and deluding the reader with the insinuation that his opponents are not in favor of freedom. The very phrase, "free-will," most unhappily introduced on this subject, is both unjust and unphilosophical. No man has yet shown the position of Locke to be erroneous, when he objects to the phrase *free-will*, and proves its absurdity. *Freedom*, in the ordinary, true, and proper use of the word, is as inapplicable to the faculty of the mind called *will*, as squareness to virtue, or swiftness to sleep. But this absurdity has become so domiciled in the home of controversy, as to be practically accounted a citizen.

Another term, equally deceitful, is *necessity*, and a main instrument of fraud; and no definition has ever been able to save even the definer himself, much less his readers, from falling victims to a fallacious term. What is necessity? It must be something horrible and hateful, for Arminians and Pelagians evermore hold it up to the reprobation of mankind, and they are all honorable men. We have, in this volume, the changes rung on necessity—necessitarians, necessitarianism, necessitation, necessitate; and all these in a sense utterly inconsistent with the true meaning and conventional sense of the word necessity. Edwards, p. 34, defines it thus: "When the subject and predicate of the proposition, which affirms the existence of any thing, either substance, quality, act, or circumstance, have a full and certain connection, then the existence or being of that thing is said to be necessary, in a metaphysical sense. And in this sense I use the word *necessity* in the following discourse, when I endeavor to prove that necessity is not inconsistent with liberty." . . . "Metaphysical or philosophical necessity is nothing different from their certainty." . . . p. 36: "Therefore, the only way that any thing that is [to] come to pass hereafter, is or can be, is by a connection with something that is necessary in its own nature, or something that already is, or has been; so that, the one being supposed, the other certainly follows. . . . And therefore *this*

is the necessity which especially belongs to controversies about the acts of the will."—p. 36-7. A necessity of consequence—a certainty of connection—is what Edwards holds and teaches.

Let us now ascertain what is the position he takes; and you have only to look back a few lines. Here it is explicitly stated: "I endeavor to prove that necessity is not inconsistent with liberty." This is the grand point. But, most unfortunately, his opponents do not so understand it. That our author missed the point, is evident from the discovery he seems to have made, at a late period, viz.: That the Westminster Confession (Chapter III) maintains the position of Edwards. "God, from all eternity, did, by the most wise and holy counsel, of His own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so, as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established." Among the proof-texts are these: Eph. i, 11, "In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will." . . . Acts ii, 23, "Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain." . . . Acts iv, 27, 28, "For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and counsel determined before to be done." Now, in all conscience, I ask why Dr. W., with such doctrine and proof-texts before him, paid no attention at all to the Word of God? No human language can express, more fully and clearly, the unalterable fixedness of the Divine foreordination, and yet the absolute freedom of their actions, in fulfilling those decrees, and doing whatsoever God's hand and counsel determined before to be done. How does he meet this proof? Why, dear reader, first he makes a flourish over the stupidity of "such men as Wesley (!), Dugald Stewart, and Sir William Hamilton," for not being able to detect the false representations and fallacy that he, the Doctor, is now, through abounding grace and free omnipotent will, about to expose. And then asserting that all which is meant by the language of the Confession,

is, that no force is applied, so as to destroy the will by preventing the passage of volitions. "All of which means that the responsible will is free to be controlled by the absolute natural necessity of motive force, free to be necessitated; free, because necessitated."—p. 421.

Here, and every-where, he, and Prof. Bledsoe, and others, I suppose, insist on a physical necessity. Calvinists—rather would I say, the advocates of dependent volition—mean a necessity of consequence, corresponding with man's rational and moral nature; but forever, their opponents, the advocates of independent volition—independent on reason, conscience, and God himself—insist that we mean physical force, when we talk of the volition being always as the last dictate of the understanding. It is vexatious to be thus interminably misrepresented. Calvin complained of this same confusion. *Ins. I.* 238: "But a distinction has prevailed in the schools, which enumerates three kinds of liberty, (a triple liberty)—the first, freedom from necessity; the second, freedom from sin; the third, freedom from misery; of which the first is naturally inherent in man, so that nothing can ever deprive him of it; the other two are lost by sin. This distinction I readily admit, except that it completely confounds necessity with coercion. And the wide difference between these things, with the necessity of its being considered, will appear in another place." Again, *I.* 239: "Then man will be said to possess free will in this sense; not that he has an equally free election of good and evil; but because he does evil voluntarily, (*voluntate agit*,) and not by constraint, (coaction.) That, indeed, is very true; but what end can it answer, to decorate a thing so diminutive with a title so superb? Egregious liberty, indeed, if man be not compelled to serve sin, but yet is such a willing slave, that his will is held in bondage by the fetters of sin." He goes on, not to deny the fact of man's will being *vincta teneatur peccati compedi-bus*—held bound in fetters of sin; but the folly and mischief of applying the term *free* to the simple fact that man chooses. "How few are there, pray, who, when they hear free will attributed to man, do not immediately conceive that he has the sovereignty over his own mind and will, and is able, by his innate power, to incline himself to whatever he pleases." This is the very thing Calvin denies that man possesses; but

shows that the *voluntas vincita teneatur compedibus peccati*—the will is held bound in fetters of sin; man is a *will slave*—*εθελοδοσλος*. This passage, egregious liberty, etc., is quoted triumphantly in the *Theodice*, as proof that Calvin held the phrase *free will* in the Arminian sense.

10. What, then, is the point in controversy? Not whether man be a free agent. This all maintain. Not whether man is endowed with a faculty of will. This, too, is universally admitted. Not whether an act unconnected with a volition has a moral character. This none affirm. But, is volition dependent? Does the man exercise the power of willing, under the influence of motives? Is the volition caused by reason, conscience, self-love, Divine love? Are there any influences operating upon the mind—or in the mind—in the man, that lead, guide, direct, and cause him to put forth a volition? This is the question. Calvinists affirm. They maintain that the mind of man is so constituted, that mental states preceding volition stand as motives leading on to acts of will, according to its laws, and cause these acts to be as they are; and that this subordination of mental movements is essential to human responsibility. The man's mind, or soul, always moves and regulates the bodily actions, according to its own nature; so that the volition proceeds from the previous states of the mind, as effect from its proper cause. The volition is as the last dictate of the understanding.

The Arminian holds and teaches, that the will is independent on all preceding mental states—is uninfluenced by them—that this independence of volition sets it far above the influence or causative effect of all motives; that if motives cause volition, the man is a slave, and not a free agent; that the power to will is not only above motives, however strong, but above the possibility of control, even by the power of God; that there always is in the mind a power, at the time a volition is passed, to pass a contrary volition; and of this power to contrary choice, the soul is conscious at the moment it wills.

On page 25, Dr. W. says: "Supposing a given volition to be in the agent's contemplation. Will is the unrestricted power of putting forth, in the same unchanged circumstances, a different volition **INSTEAD**. Hence, it is often at the present day called *the power of contrary choice*. Cousin, Psychol., p. 315.

'And, in fine, at the moment when I do this action, along with the consciousness of doing it, am I not conscious, likewise, of power not to do it? . . . I am conscious of thinking this or that, with the consciousness of not being able not to think it.'

Here let us note, 1. Consciousness is a present, reflective activity of the mind. It is absurd to speak of being conscious of the future, or of the past; or to say, I am conscious of my own existence. But to say, I am conscious I have a knowledge of my own activity, is to speak common sense. Existence is not an object of consciousness.

2. Power is not an object of consciousness. No man can be conscious of power; or, in other words, no man knows that he has any power, but by its exertion, present or remembered. But our friends of the omnipotent will say, they are conscious of power; and heighten the absurdity by affirming that they are conscious of "not power:" a non-entity is the object of knowledge the most intimate conceivable. They constantly appeal to experience: "Am I not conscious of power not to do it?" I answer, No. It lies utterly beyond the range of your consciousness and mine, this *power to contrary*. It is contrary to common sense and the experience of mankind. Where is the evidence of its existence? Who was ever conscious, at the moment he passed a decision of his judgment, (for this is the meaning of the word choice, as Cousin has proved,) of a power to pass a contrary judgment? Many years ago, there lived in Philadelphia a lady whose eyes were diseased, and who, lying unusually long one morning, was called up by her chamber-maid telling her it was late. "Why don't you open the window-shutters?" "Why, madam, they are wide open, and it is bright sunshine." "Oh! I'm blind!" was her agonizing exclamation. The like case occurred with the second man who ever stood upon Mont Blanc—Dr. Paccard. He asked his guide, Jaques Balmat, to remove the fur-skin from before his face, that he might see the gorgeous scene of an Alpine sunrise. The guide replied, "Sir, there's nothing before your eyes." "Oh! I'm blind!" The not-power of vision is not an object of consciousness. Many a man has been paralyzed in his limbs during sleep, and knew not the loss of power to move them, until he put forth the volition to move

them. This not-power consciousness is a foolish non-entity. I know thousands of such assertions are made; but, then, these men speak what they otherwise contradict; for,

3. They all admit and maintain that this contrary power has never yet been put forth in exercise. God is affirmed to be under the same law; he is an agent in whom is also found this choice, with power to contrary choice; but neither God nor angel, neither man nor devil, ever exercised or exerted this power. More than this, it is affirmed that no such exertion ever will take place. Dr. W. says, p. 274:

"Freedom, in every individual case, as we have defined it, implies, that of several volitions, one and no other will take place; one in opposition to many—*numerically*; one in opposition to any other instead—*alternatively*. And so of a whole series of volitions, namely: of the entire existence of any one free being, temporal, or even eternal—each one volition, and the entire series of his individual volitions, though possible to be otherwise, yet will be each some particular one way." Thus, the power of choice is one—(or, if the Doctor will allow me the use of his nomenclature—for doing which he seems to praise or blame Dr. Shedd), "one and no other" is surely *unipotent*, after all, and the alternatives, in countless millions, are gone forever. Why distract the world by contending for an alternative power, never exercised, and never to be exercised? But we have a right to go into the territories with our slaves. Well! do you want to go? Oh! no; they would freeze to death! Why, then, deluge a nation in blood, contending for a right and a power which you can never exercise? Why so fierce for an alternative power, which, confessedly, can never be called into action?

4. The understanding, as judge, alone can weigh motives. Motive is all that which moves the mind. Better had Edwards said, motive is all that which *tends* to move or cause the mind to act—every thing within the range of its conceptions, which invites, leads, induces the judging power to occupy the tribunal, with balances of justice in hand. Cousin, in our opinion, is conclusive in his evidence, that this whole business of deliberation, of weighing motives, of using the *libra juris*—the balances of justice—lies within the region of the intelligence. This is, in reality, Edwards' belief, as is manifest in his expla-

nation of the greatest apparent good. He there speaks of the voluntary action, as determined by that which appears most agreeable; and all the concomitants and circumstances, beauty, availability, distance or nearness, in time and place, certainty or uncertainty, as to the objects. In fact, confounding *choice*, which is a process of the judgment, with *volition*, he necessarily attributes to the will, not only the whole intellectual operations, but also the sensibilities, emotions, appetites, desires, etc. We may regret this absence of nice discrimination in the use of terms, and may make a flourish about terminology; but let us not overshoot the mark. A hundred years ought to make changes—even improvements. Still, it is not demonstrably certain that the book under review has pushed either the analysis or the terminology to much advantage. Whilst we suggest alterations, we admit that the language of Edwards is English, and, by close attention, may be understood.

5. Volition, *per se*, has no moral character. As long as you know only the external result of volition—ignorant of its antecedents as well as its consequents—you can form no opinion of the morality of the man who wills it. Passing through a meadow, I lift my cane, apparently to strike a blow. You, at a distance, observe my movement, and know I put forth a volition. Tell me whether it was right or wrong. It can't be done, till I know your motive and design. Well, my design was to kill a copperhead, and my motive was to protect myself and others from being bitten and poisoned to death. All right! Therefore,

6. Motive and intention give character to volition, and the action it generates. A prisoner stands at the bar, charged with murder. You are in the jury-box. The man's life is in your hands, and the oath of God upon your soul. The accused is asked, Did you kill this man whose body was found pierced through? I did, sir. Did you pierce him through *voluntarily*? I did, sir. Now, jurymen, are you ready to deliver your verdict? No, sir. What more do you want? Why, Mr. Attorney for the Commonwealth, I want to know whether he killed him of purpose, design, intention. How was this, prisoner? Well, yes, sir, I intended, designed, purposed, and determined to kill him. Now, juror, are you ready to give a verdict for the Common-

wealth? Not quite ready, sir. What more can you need? I want to know his *motive*, and its moral accompaniments—what the state of his feelings toward the deceased—the antecedents of his volition, that produced the physical blow and the death; and I can't give you a verdict, until you prove malice prepense. Mr. Prisoner, what do you say to this? I say, sir, that I killed him in self-defense. I had no ill-feeling toward him; but he assaulted my life, and I wrenched the dagger from him, and stuck it into his own heart. Now, Mr. Juror, we have nothing in evidence to the contrary; are you ready with your verdict? Ready, sir. Are you all agreed? "All agreed. The prisoner is NOT GUILTY." No honest jury ever gave a verdict of guilty, until they traced the act of the man-slayer to its *motive*—until they found the state of his heart corrupt, wicked, malicious. *Motive alone gives character to action.* Unless you can trace the overt or physical act to the *volition*, the volition to the *judgment* of the understanding, the judgment to the *intellectual perceptions*, the perceptions to the *reason*, the reason to the *appropriate moral feelings*, and all to the *MOTIVES*, you can form no opinion, even, of the morality—the right or wrong of any action. So far, and so far only, as *volition* is *caused* by the antecedent states of the mind, hath it any moral character. No *voluntary action*, which is not an *effect*, finding its proper *cause* in antecedent *motive*, is ever held to be praiseworthy, or blameworthy. And this is the practical judgment of the whole human race, not excepting Dr. Whedon.

7. Here I may, just as well as any-where, attempt the proof of this non-exception; that is, show that Dr. Whedon holds the doctrine of dependent volition, and proves volition to be an *effect*, *caused* by motives, as above. Some time back, I said I had marked thirty-three passages, in which Dr. W. abandons his ground, and takes his station on the Calvinistic platform. I have noted a few others, making in all thirty-seven. Be not dismayed, reader; it is not my design even to cite the whole, but only a few, as a sample. And,

1. Page 68: "When we say that will, or the self in willing, is sole cause of its own volitions, there is, nevertheless, one clause properly to be superadded, and always to be implied, namely: *Will in its proper conditions.* And this leads to the discussion of the conditions, or occasions, and limitations of free

action of will." Under these *proper conditions*, he introduces all the antecedent *causative influences*, on which we contend volition is dependent, as above stated. He enumerates three: the "object," design, or intention, the "*mental* comprehension," and the "motive." Thus he spreads himself over the whole Calvinistic ground. "Motive," says he, p. 71, "is usually considered as a condition to the possibility of a volition by the will. The motive is not only actual, but potential. It is not only that in view of which the volition is put forth, but that in view of which the volition is able to be put forth." The motive is *potential*; without it, the action *could not be*.

Page 88: "To the preliminary question, *What causes the will to act?* it is competent to reply, that every agent, in his proper conditions, is under a general necessity of action, even while free in the particular choice." Here is necessity; but, moreover, here are the *proper conditions*, as under the preceding cases.

Page 134. "We are now able to apply these views to illustrate the nature of what are called *influences*; that is, *motive influences*, in relation to will. As will acts more or less in accordance with such influences, there is a due propriety in saying that influences act upon will. But there must be most clearly understood, as resulting from our statements thus far, the distinction between a *physical force* and a *volitional influence*." Here, again, the whole ground is yielded, and he even condemns himself, and his whole school, for their pertinacious assumption and often assertion, that Calvinists teach a necessity and a causative influence of motives, of a purely physical nature. And yet, most strange consistency! he proceeds immediately to illustrate a *volitional*, or *motive force*, by his favorite doctrine of chances, or contingencies—a matter purely physical.

Page 163. Motives may be "the previous ground and reason of the will—yea, the necessary" (in the sense of *requisite*) ground, etc., without which the will acts not; they may *excite* by a prevailing influence, which prevails for the act; they may be fully and freely acted in accordance with; "and yet, astonishing as it may seem, the said motives may still not be the necessitative cause of the volition." . . . "And so the motive, though a requisite condition, is not a necessitating cause."

Excuse me, but once more—p. 368: "When the choice is made, it is, of course, made sequentially upon some one of the motives; and hence it is sometimes inferred therefrom, that the relation of necessitative cause and effect existed between that motive and that volition. But on the hypothesis of freedom, as truly as upon that of necessity, there is a motive that lies in immediate antecedency to the volition; there is a reason, last occurring before the choice, in sequence to which the will, terminating the comparative survey, makes the choice."

This comparative survey, what is it but the process of weighing motives, judging of their force and value, and finishing up the intellectual operations of the intelligence? "Here," says Cousin, "the action of the intelligence completely ceases;" for the choice is made; the necessary movements to external action are all passed, and it only remains for the soul to put forth the volition executive. Here is the entire theory of dependent volition. Calvinists hold, and here Dr. W. asserts that Arminians equally hold, that these processes must take place. Now, this "mustness" is necessity; and, as he says on p. 164: "We have, in effect, shown causative limitations, by which, however subjectively free, it (the will) is objectively un-free." How extremely convenient to mount the Calvinistic pony, when there is no other mode of escape! Necessity makes its own law.

Another decisive proof that all mankind exercise a constant, practical belief in the causative influence and power of motives, is the fact, that all men, and in all ages, have used reasonings, arguments, persuasions, *motives*, for the purpose of inducing others to will and act as they wish them. Now, all this is based on the principle, that a change in the mental movements, views, feelings, desires, motives, which precede volition, will operate an influence upon the mind, and control its volitions. Cut in between these mental states and the volition, abolish all causative influence of motives, and then all reasonings, arguments, persuasions, and presentation of motives, is foolish and absurd. Deny causality in motive, and then fools and madmen are the only free agents. If a man acts without motive, he is only fit for the mad-house or the insane asylum.

8. Notwithstanding all these, and thirty more cases of neces-

sitated Calvinism, it is the *theory* (abstract, most assuredly) of this school, that between the entire concatenation of perceptions, conceptions, thoughts, emotions, feelings, desires, weighing of motives, conscience, and last decision of the judgment, or understanding, there must intervene the exercise of a power to will, in opposition to all the preceding movements, or the will is not free. An action resulting from, occasioned, brought about, caused, influenced by—accommodated to the whole of these anterior operations—is not free. Between all the exercises of the soul—perceiving, understanding, impulsions of conscience, judging, weighing of motives, resisting of evil temptations, fighting against fleshly lusts, and even “reason last occurring before the choice” (act of will), there always comes in a power, which decides independently, above, over, and in opposition to them all—a power overpowering them all. A power which God himself can not resist, is necessary to Arminian freedom. So Bledsoe perpetually repeats, “an action can’t be caused.” Whether this be not the *voluntas vincita compedibus peccati*—the will bound in fetters of sin—of which Calvin reprobrates the idea of calling it freedom, let the reader judge. To my mind, it is the most dire fatalism. It sweeps away all the elements of moral responsibility, and makes the man a victim of capricious chance.

9. On this point Dr. W. quotes part of a paragraph from Isaac Taylor, who demonstrates this doctrine of omnipotent will, “whose *freakish movements* neither men, nor angels, nor the Omniscient himself can foresee. . . . It is the unalterable condition of my existence to be governed by a power more stern and inexorable than Fate herself. Alas! Contingency is mistress of my destinies.” And this answered—evaded by an utter perversion of our doctrine, in the course of which he asserts, “Necessity (as held by Edwards, of course, he means) is the control of the soul in volition by some foreign causation,” p. 120. Surely Dr. W. does not mean to say, that reason, conscience, deliberation, judgment, motive in the mind and heart, are “some foreign causation!” “Freedom is the control of the act by causative self;” but this self excludes all the antecedent mental states, perception, reason, judgment, conscience, motive—take these all away, and where is causative self? Here is a fatalism equal to any thing in Hobbes, Hume, or Priestley;

unless, indeed, it be the optimism of Bledsoe and others, who teach that sin is incidental to any moral system. God has done His very best in making this world, and He is doing His very best in mending it. The Professor of Mathematics in the University of Virginia, who is also a lawyer and was a preacher, declares, in his *Theodice*, if he thought that God could save one more sinner than He does, he would not undertake His defense! How obliging! But look at the fatalism, which places a limit to Divine power: a nature of things above the Maker of things: but this fearful result we have no space to reprobate; see our author, p. 321: but we must forbear.

Many other points are necessarily passed over. Perhaps the Editor will afford space for additional remarks.

This book runs us into Universalism of the worst type. It maintains that the heathen are safer than Christendom: that the population (described in a late New York paper) in the vilest dregs of our cities are in a very safe condition, being as certain of heaven as those who die in infancy: a knowledge of Christ and the Gospel is not at all necessary to salvation and entrance into heaven. I can't argue these points now, but quote a few lines. Pages 346-7: "But within the bosom of Christendom there is an immense class adult in years, but apparently entitled to the moral immunity of infancy. . . . Excluded, perhaps, by invincible barriers from any possible knowledge of the truth as a very idiot, unwarned and unconscious that there is any truth to be sought, they seem incapable of being held to a just penal responsibility. . . . But what is the ultimate destiny? Precisely the same, we reply, with that of the infant. . . . The irresponsible adult, however, incrustated in irresponsible sins, is redeemed by an unknown Saviour." Hail, ye inhabitants of the Five Points! Safer and happier are ye than are believing Christians. For these may fall from grace and perish; but ye are as sure of heaven as those who die in infancy. "He that believeth not shall be damned"—"Where there is no vision, the people perish," Prov. xxix: 18. "As many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law," Rom. ii: 12.

I was very desirous to touch the argument from foreknowledge, predestination, and a dozen others. But will only express my grief and abhorrence at the manner in which Dr. W.

discourses about the free moral agency of the man Jesus, and His necessary liability to sin in order to His being righteous and holy. And so of God the Father, who is represented as a free moral agent, liable to sin, apostatize from holiness, cease to be God, and become a devil. And all these changes in God and Christ are based on the *absolute necessity* of power to contrary in order to the being of moral and meritorious excellence. Did ever demon before conceive of such a *necessity* as this? But let us hear Dr. Whedon, p. 383: "And so the moral merit of all beings, finite and infinite, arises from this, that in their proportion of power, space and time, they, in the possession of the full and complete volitional power of doing wrong, do persistently and freely that which is right." P. 316: "We can as easily conceive an infinite omnipotent Person to be bad as to be good. . . . God is holy in that He freely chooses to make His own happiness in eternal right. Whether He could not make Himself equally happy in wrong, is more than we can say." What can Dr. Whedon mean by right and wrong? . . . P. 317: "And how knows a finite insect, like us, that in the course of ages the motives in the universe may not prove strongest for Divine apostasy to evil? If God can be supposed by Dr. Day thus to apostatize on the hypothesis of subjective freedom, why may I not fear on the hypothesis of external subjection to motive? I can as readily suppose that motives may so change as to change the Divine Will, as to suppose that the Divine free will should change in view of the motives." Thus God and Christ are fallible moral agents—liable to sin. If God is a fallible *moral agent*, He must be accountable for His moral conduct: to whom must He render His account? Who will snatch the rod, rejudge the sentence, be the God of God?

ART. III.—*Slavery in the Church Courts.*

It is a matter calling for profound gratitude, that the time has come when men have the courage to utter their honest convictions. When neither fear of bodily harm closes the mouth, nor dread of offending an organized system of oppression weakens the native instincts of humanity; when no apprehension of losing favor causes men to plead for that which they hate, and palliate that which they know to be wrong. The time has, we trust, well nigh passed, when a craven spirit in the guise of a desire for peace, permits those made audacious by repeated concessions, to carry their wicked measures; and thus, under the specious name of compromise, jeopard every settled principle. God be thanked that the day of compromises with slavery is over; when weak men and trimmers joined together in crying that the peace of the Church must be preserved; when compromise meant that one side must yield all, and harmony be purchased by the surrender of the present conscience of the people, and the removal of all the landmarks of the past. Yes, we rejoice that the time has come when manliness has regained its self-possession; when emancipation has, in great measure, thrown the shackles from the negro, and begun the more desperate task of delivering the white man from the fascination of slave power. It has ceased to be a crime worthy the punishment of the judges to call things by their right names; and logical acuteness no longer consists in ringing endless changes on the distinction between *malum per se* and *malum per accidens*, in regard to a concrete system which can not exist when all its accidents are taken away.

Moreover, the time, we trust, is ended, when the Church is allowed to join hands with the State for doing evil, while the world is deceived as to her secret purpose by violent protestations of desire to keep free from political intermeddling. The time was when the ministerial character was too holy to join with the civil power in denouncing an acknowledged evil, but just holy enough to aid and abet a faction in its work of sedition and blood; when the Church was altogether too spiritual to testify against sin, provided the State had taken the initia-

tive, but spiritual enough to hound on a hesitating insurrection, based upon the system of which it could not speak; when our Zion was too pure to defile her garments by even praying for lawful rulers, but just sufficiently pure to incite a faction to usurp unlawful power. Yes, we are happy to think the time has at last come, when the shibboleth, "Just as much opposed to slavery as any body," is not required to prove a man to be no Abolitionist: since the former has ceased to be the superscription on a spurious coin, and the latter is no longer a name for civil and ecclesiastical leprosy.

That slavery has been an incubus, crushing out the manliness of master and servant, and has prostituted the moral tone in our Church, is a truth acknowledged in some form by nearly every man of note in her communion. The moral sense of the world being at variance with oppression, has often forced this admission from those who upheld slavery. And the genius of Christian civilization undermining this institution throughout the world, the untrammelled utterances of good men in all parts of our Church, have, at various times, united in its strong condemnation. But the influence of slavery in defiling all who come in contact therewith, has produced the curious fact, that while it remained substantially the same, opinions have undergone the most radical changes. While the system was gathering strength every day, as a political power, and no fears entertained of its destruction; while the property invested in it was safe, and no dread of pecuniary loss rose like a specter, then well nigh every Christian joined in its condemnation, and advocated its destruction. It is not necessary to inquire how much of this opposition was genuine, and how much assumed in deference to the opinions of the Christian world as a palliation for its indulgence: such is the fact that when the Northern section of the Church and the Government began a vigorous resistance to the persistent encroachments of slavery, this tone was changed. While still, perhaps, ready to admit that it is an evil, and ever forward to show that the system was a great loss to all having property therein, the negroes themselves the greatest pests on earth, and their masters martyrs to the benevolent desire to elevate them by oppression; yet, when any person among them undertook in good earnest to advocate its extinction, he was at once accused of being an Abolitionist—a name

synonymous with all villainy. So that the actual doing of that which each person acknowledged in substance to be right and desirable, made a man more odious than a felon, and placed a mark upon him blacker than that of Cain. This was the case with the citizen at home; but woe to the luckless wight who, migrating from a northern latitude, chose to stir up southern blood by using the arguments which former statesmen, jurists and divines, participating in slavery, had put into his mouth. If he persisted in this, his life paid the forfeit of his intermeddling, or escaping in haste he was happy, if without personal violence he regained his rock-bound New England, there to meditate the folly of uttering as sober earnest that which our Southern brethren claimed as their especial right to utter in a Pickwickian sense. The consequence of this was, that every man who found it to his interest to remain in the South had either to fall in with the current of expressed opinion, that is while pretending to denounce, really to defend, or preserve entire silence. Persons who went from abroad were scarcely allowed the poor privilege of a formal disapproval, even if coupled with an actual participation in its blessings, until they had taken out naturalization papers, which could be accelerated by the manifestation of particular zeal in defending the system on economical, and especially Scriptural grounds. Hence, the great number of those who, being born in Northern States, did not, up to the time of their hegira, see any thing in the system to love, but much to condemn, yet, when it was covered with the gilding of Southern favor and wealth, at once saw it transformed into a thing of wondrous beauty. It is too much to suppose that poor humanity could resist the blandishments of Southern hospitality and elegance; and hence the senses were captivated by the brilliancy which shone around the elegant mansions of the planter, while the eye could scarcely be expected to rest upon the squalid hovel of the slave. Nor could the ear, used to the courteous address of chivalry, be expected to hearken to the unseemly cry emitted when the castigation of the humane overseer was applied as a means of Christian civilization. So, while the system remained precisely the same, setting at naught all the rights of humanity and Christianity, opinions of it changed because men looked at it through a different medium. Hence, multitudes from the North, whom business or

pleasure drew southward, were so captivated with the elegant exterior of slavery, that they were ready to listen to the demands of their slaveholding brethren: especially when set off by such powerful arguments as the preservation of peace; a united Church; the glory of conservatism; and the self-denying labors of the master in educating the ignorant and vicious negro to a position fit for freedom. We have, therefore, reason for hearty thankfulness that the Church has, in great degree, become emancipated from this incubus which crushed out her very life. There are occasional instances in the Northern States where our people are still enslaved, or if at liberty have not yet learned that they can act freely. The number in the border States is yet large, and it may require two or three proclamations in the form of deliverances by the General Assembly, before those who are in their chrysalis state will know how to use their liberty.

In order to strengthen the bulwarks of slavery and silence discussion in the highest court of the Church, as discussion is always dangerous to any system which rests on darkness and ignorance, the doctrine of Higher Spirituality was introduced. By this it was maintained that the Church could not meddle with any question whatever which could become a subject of State legislation, since this would be jeopardizing her sanctity. It was held that the entire business of the Church was to preach the Gospel, which is, in fact, a truth which no man may gainsay. But what is it to preach the Gospel? Certainly not to proclaim an abstraction, a mere formula, but a concrete system of doctrines which that plan of revealed truth embraces. This is no less than the whole duty of man, illustrated by the life of Christ as an exemplar after which his people should copy in all things. This is comprehensive enough to embrace man in all his relations to God, to his fellow, and to himself. For there is no act which has not a moral significance, nor can be freed from the standard of the Divine will, which will is made known to us in the Gospel. Therefore every act of life being amenable to the tribunal of Christian doctrine, comes under the purview of the Church, which is the witness for Christ on earth; and must be passed upon by His ambassadors, unless they prove faithless to His instructions. The declaration that the duty of the Church is to preach the Gospel exclusively, becomes a palpable absurd-

ity when that Gospel is reduced to an abstraction. For this embraces no concrete case, no individual nor act, no application of doctrine nor practice. When we fritter the Gospel away to this extent there is nothing left, for it is not like mathematical truth, independent of concrete number and special applications. If we carry out the principle fully, and say that the Church must not meddle in politics, where will this end? It is no more meddling in political strife to consider the subject of slavery, provided it has any moral or immoral quality which comes under the cognizance of the Gospel, because this subject is one that engages State legislation, than for the Church to raise her voice in regard to any other action. The State legislates on theft, lying, fraud and licentiousness; must the Church, through fear of defiling her garments by meddling in politics, be silent when her people commit these crimes, or cease to rebuke a sinful world when such iniquities abound? Yet slavery, as carried on any-where, will involve every one of these things. We are well aware of the tremendous arguments adduced to show that slavery is not a sin *per se*. But slavery never did and never can exist *per se*. It involves an imperfect master clothed with substantially unlimited power over the body and soul of a servant, and therefore a certain train of consequences; and so must be either good or evil. If good, it is the duty of the Church, whether the State acts or not, to conserve and perpetuate it. This doctrine, we may say in passing, Dr. Palmer, one of the great lights of New Church purity, boldly advocated at the very time when it was held to be utterly wrong for the Church to act against slavery. If, however, the system be evil, the Church must, at her peril, endeavor not only to clear her own skirts of it, but also to destroy it elsewhere as a work of the devil, independently of what the State may think or desire. Drunkenness again is a matter of State action. Must the Church be silent for that reason, and never inveigh against this vice? Yet the political canvass in several States has turned on this question, and carrying out the doctrine of Church spirituality as expounded by those in the interest of slavery, the Christian man must not express his opinion nor take any action on this subject; and the Church, through dread of being contaminated, must never try the offender who breaks the rules of sobriety, nor lift her voice against the prevalence of this sin. The State also pun-

ishes adultery, providing a remedy for the injured party, and mulcting the seducer for tampering with female honor. Here again the Church has no voice, because she must not meddle in any thing connected with the State. Even when this vice assumes the form of polygamy and mormonism, she is powerless, because this offense is one which has, and probably will again, agitate States, if not the National Government. And thus while these sins are involved in the very idea of slavery, and inherent in its nature—not the accidental attendants, but the necessary concomitants of the system, since the laws regulating slavery compel negroes in most States to live in concubinage, and put female virtue in the slave beyond the reach of legal protection. Yet the Church must be quiet, lest she implicate herself in political strife. As an illustration of this policy, we will relate an occurrence actually witnessed. In Transylvania Presbytery, at its spring meeting, in April, 1861, a resolution was introduced by Rev. S. B. Cheek, to memorialize the Legislature for the passage of a law permitting church members, and others who had a conscience in the matter, to have the marriages of their slaves legally solemnized. By this the master would voluntarily submit to the pecuniary loss incurred by making it impossible to sell either one of a married couple without the other. This resolution contemplated no compulsory action on any, save those who felt scandalized that Christian masters must, by existing laws, see members of their own households and churches living in a state of concubinage; and who chose to avail themselves of its provisions to put away this sin. Though it was introduced in the most Christian spirit, and embraced a case where the consciences of believers ought, if ever, to be bound, yet this resolution was laid on the table—nearly every member of Presbytery voting against it. For it was argued by an eminent man, himself *once* an emancipationist, that though the matter presented was one of undoubted grievance, involving a sin which ought to be purged away, yet, to prevent agitation in the Church at such a time of intense political strife, there must be no intermeddling; and so, with a few words of caution, spoken in a whisper, against drawing upon the Church the suspicion of sharing in the Abolition crusade, this paper was secretly buried like an untimely birth. Verily, when Presbytery took this action, we seemed to hear such words of alarm as were

thought to be heard in the stillness of the night immediately before God's vengeance fell upon Jerusalem, "*Excedere Deos*;"* when even the heathen thought that the gods did depart from the temple, and leave it to its fate. Nor were our apprehensions calmed when the same day the thunders from the cannon opened on the fated Sumter, proclaimed, like the knell of death throughout our land, that insurrection which a craven spirit had permitted slavery to inaugurate.

Such a monstrous doctrine touching the proper jurisdiction of the Church, is revolting to common sense as well as common decency. Yet, for the support of negro slavery, this doctrine has been hatched up and the attempt made to foist it upon the Church. Its absurdity becomes manifest at once when applied to any one of the common sins of which the State takes cognizance. Were Dr. Thornwell, the father of this monstrosity, alive, we would be glad to hear him attempt, we say *attempt* advisedly, to preach a sermon involving only an abstract Gospel. Where he would find his text, his illustrations, his application, we certainly could never imagine from any of the noble sermons he did preach. They could not be found in the Bible; nor in Aristotle, which was his second book. No; the thing is impossible in itself, and never carried out into practice even by its advocates. It was refuted continually by themselves when applied to any thing else than slavery, and maintained solely to defend their love and practice of this system.

This doctrine was never palatable to the Church at large; for except where interest dulled the vision, its absurdity could not be overlooked. Even the most distinguished Northern apologist for slavery, who, we are happy to see, has himself been lately manumitted, drew up the paper which the General Assembly of 1860 passed, wherein is to be found the doctrine of the Church on the question of her mission. "Politics, in the wide sense of the word, includes the science of government, the policy of States, and the duties of citizens. The plain principle which determines the legitimate sphere of the action of the Church, is, that it is limited to teaching and enforcing moral and religious truth; and to such truths as are revealed and

* *Exapertæ repente delubri fores et audita major humana vox "Excedere Deos;" simul ingens motus excedentium.*—Tac. An. V. 18.

determined by the Sacred Scriptures. The Bible gives us no rule for deciding the litigated questions about public improvements, a national bank, or a protective tariff, or State rights. But it does give us rules for pronouncing about slave laws, the slave-trade, obedience to magistrates, treason, rebellion, and revolution. To shut her mouth on these questions, is to make her unfaithful to her high vocation."

Again: It is a fiction to attempt the separation of the duties which a man owes to the Church and those due the State, in such a way as to make him appear in two characters. Jesuitical casuistry has attempted this, but honesty rejects the subterfuge. There are two classes which the citizen must perform, diverse in their mode of execution, but not different in their nature. For unquestionably, if we possess a personal identity, it is the concrete of all our thoughts, words and deeds; each one of which is either indifferent, or of moral significance. Leaving the former out of the question, then each one of the latter has an influence which goes to make up the sum of that which we call character, and which is impossible of division. Hence, the Christian and the patriot, the citizen and the Church member, are not two persons, but one and the same, considered from different points of view. Therefore we can not engage in politics in any way, even the most general, unless the higher duties which we owe the Gospel of Christ sanction our conduct, and thus it be for an advancement in Christian character. Every act of life has its significance both from its own nature and its influence upon us, and hence is invested with an importance from its tendency to make us better or worse. The follower of Christ must keep wholly aloof—not merely in his character as a Church member—from every thing that prevents his obedience to his Master; so that if he engages in any duty to the State, it must be by the sufferance of his Lord. Is it right to obey God rather than man? is a case plainly put to every man's conscience. Accordingly, we must not be citizens at all, unless we can also perform our parts as Christians. Still, we can not but be citizens. While God leaves us in the world, we have to participate in its obligations, as well as in its labors for our sustenance. Hence, we can no more throw off nor pretermitt the duties we owe in the one relation than the other. But if the State requires of us that which is at variance to the will of

God, the alternative is clear. Duty to the State is not always, nor perhaps chiefly, compliance with its injunctions. Often that required of us is rebuke and correction, just as the Christian man's life does not consist in the maxims of a sinful world or compliance with its conduct. He must strive perpetually to reform abuses and correct errors in doctrine. So in the State. He owes a duty to it just as much in endeavoring to reclaim it when gone astray, as to aid it in its work of government when right; and he can not absolve himself from this perpetual obligation. Moreover, government is of Divine origin. God setteth the solitary in families, and the State is only a family of large dimensions. It being His ordinance, every man is a part of this system, one as much as another according to his ability; and while God is pleased to let him live, his obligations to conserve the State are binding. The idea, then, that the Church to secure her sanctity must stand aloof from the affairs of the State, is sheer nonsense. The Church must not be dependent on the State for her action, nor *vice versa*; except in so far as they are a mutual help to each other, and counterparts of universal law, given by the author of nature for the regulation of his children. A perfect system of government certainly would not defile the garments of the Church by contact, and as the people constitute the State, the obligation rests upon them to make it such—pure and holy; and if it is not so, then, especially in a State of free franchise, the sin rests upon the individuals who make it what it is. Vain is it for us to say that we will have nothing to do with the politics of the State because they are so corrupt. But why are they so corrupt? Who has made the State what it is? He that holds aloof will say, surely not I, because I have nothing to do with it. Just here is your offense, because you refuse, when you see it in corruption, to interpose your power, and at least try to remove the wrong. A man may be just as guilty by not participating in the government of his country, as though he were the personal author of its corruptions. For our guilt may be quite as heinous in refusing to prevent a sin where duty so called, where we had the ability and yet did not, as though we were the perpetrators. Therefore to say in a time of public crisis that the Church must abstain from all share in political excitement, is in direct variance with her duty. If good men should ever act

the part of citizens, it ought to be when they are most needed. When not needed, if that could occur, then may they not act. So in times of perfect quiet the Church may, without injury, abstain from those questions which do not directly concern her, and give herself to that of more immediate import. Of the relative importance of her duties she, taught by the Word of God, as every man for himself, must judge. Each owes duties to the other: the State to protect from violence and wield the arm of power; the Church to warn, to exhort and to instruct, but not to take the sword. When the Saviour of sinners said, My kingdom is not of this world, in the next clause He showed how this declaration was to be understood. The Church is not intrusted with the sword; that belongs to another branch of God's ordinance, the civil magistrate. The Lord recognizes the rights of both when He says, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. While both arms of power are obedient to their founder, there is no conflict, for they severally aim ultimately at the same ends, the glory of God and the good of men. When the civil power becomes corrupt and will not be turned from its wickedness, when the subject has exerted all his influence to reclaim it yet in vain, when it turns to be his oppressor, he then can realize that Christ's kingdom is not of this world; *i. e.* has no affiliation with the powers of evil, for which the world is often used as the synonym. So the Christian man, when reduced to this extremity, can not appeal to the same force for his protection which the State calls upon to destroy him—the Church and the State are irreconcilably at variance, and Peter must put up his sword. The Church can do nothing then but submit to persecution, and make her appeal directly to God, who will overturn until He come whose right it is to reign. But for men and Churches to refuse to come to the help of the Government on the plea that they are set apart for a holy work, and therefore must not meddle in public affairs, is downright absurdity, if nothing worse. This is usually the miserable subterfuge devised to screen a cowardly shirking from duty, when a bold course would expose to loss or censure; or it is a sophism under which to conceal treason, by refusing to support the lawful authority, or to put on record the cherished opposition to it. A profession of piety too immaculate

is often found in company with a scanty profession, on the principle that what we really possess needs no display, as it will answer for itself. So the Church may always be suspected of some sinister design when she places herself in a position so high that she can not condescend to perform her true mission, that is to preach and enforce the truth of God in all its concrete applications to the conditions and wants of humanity.

If we apply the *argumentum ad hominem* to the advocates of this spirituality in the Church, during the recent troubles of our country, they appear in signal variance to their own teachings. Those men who were the most violent in their invectives against political preaching in the North, who perpetually lamented the degeneracy of the Church from this cause, were the foremost in urging the insurgents to revolt. It is safe to say that Dr. Thornwell, whose influence in South Carolina was so well known, did more than any other man, in forcing that State to her final plunge into perdition. No tirade was too violent, no denunciation too bitter, no appeal to mad passions too inflammatory, to be employed by this eminent minister of the Prince of Peace, to urge his fellow citizens to conspiracy, sedition and bloodshed. In private and in public he incited the people to madness by his sermons, his prayers and his writings. Yes, he drove them by indecent haste to consummate the accursed crime of treason without cause, and bloodshed without provocation. And then, to crown all his efforts, he would fain sanctify its consummation by invoking the benediction of God upon this terrible work, which the Convention assembled for secession had wrought by his advice. We may also instance Dr. Palmer, of New Orleans, a disciple of this same school, whose Thanksgiving Sermon of November, 1860, may challenge any production which has appeared during the last four years of violence, for extreme views, for exciting the worst passions for the worst ends. Forgetting his sacred calling, he appeared to exult in the unlimited extent to which he carried his radicalism on those questions which the wildest politicians scarcely dared to broach. Probably no Christian country has ever witnessed such *outrè* views as the Southern clergy were foremost in advocating; and their Church Courts vied with the State Legislatures and the Sovereignty Conventions in recommending measures of purely political character. At the same

time, we have the strange spectacle exhibited of unmeasured denunciation against Northern ministers and Church Courts, for doing far less, and in a much milder way, the very same kind of acts they were performing. Yet they say it was the political meddling of the Northern branch of the Church which rendered division necessary. It was the persistent preaching of those doctrines of slavery which the whole Church has pronounced right, that rendered it necessary for an aggrieved and persecuted section to repudiate its connection. But the true reason was, the churches in the North felt that the Government was to be supported and rebellion crushed, that the schismatic churches felt themselves too holy for such communion. It was a great sin for a minister to pray for the Government which had protected him and his fathers, but perfectly consistent with inviolate piety to hound on an unwilling people to insurrection, robbery and murder. Nay, more. Those who felt outraged because the Church in the hour of our country's peril passed resolutions of sympathy, found it quite consistent with their type of holiness to offer public petitions that "the bones of Yankees might bleach on every Southern hill." Those who lead bands of guerrillas to commit robbery and murder, receive their teachings from such as advocate the new theory of the "Church of God," which makes her mission so holy that she can do no work except that which belongs to him who is called the "accuser of the brethren." And such as indulge in bush-whacking until personal safety from the ministers of outraged justice compels them to take refuge in another State, celebrate their advent by instructing the Church on "her duty to keep aloof from all the excitements of politics." Those who are exceedingly desirous to so speak in Church Courts "that no man may know which side of politics (*i. e.* rebellion) they are on," find it perfectly consistent with their creed to aid and abet treason by every means which a too indulgent government will suffer. Holy men whose hands are red with the blood of patriot sons, slain in defense of their country's integrity, "would be glad to have such a reputation for freedom from political complications, that they could preach with acceptance through the length and breadth of our land," to parents made childless by their treasonable machinations. But it makes all possible difference whose ox is gored. So it makes all difference

whether meddling in politics be on the side of loyalty or treason. When you cross Mason and Dixon's line, the moral character of an action becomes changed. Looking to the North, to speak for our country or pray for its rulers—the offense is rank, it smells of perdition. Looking to the South, the same is virtue, clothed in a robe of such spotless purity that neither conspiracy, treachery, robbery nor murder can impress a single spot.

But the Church has not in the past considered it foreign to her domain to legislate on moral questions; and of these no one has occupied nearly the same attention as slavery. From our earliest history as a denomination in this country, scarcely a year has passed without some action on this subject. Before the formation of the Assembly, the General Synod acted again and again with reference to it; and always manifesting dislike and desire to be freed from its guilt and disgrace. In the Synod of 1787 a committee brought in a report, in which it was held, "It is more especially the duty of those who maintain the rights of humanity, and who acknowledge and teach the obligations of Christianity, to use such means as are in their power to extend the blessings of equal freedom to every part of the human race." After the consideration of this subject the Synod passed a judgment, which was reaffirmed by the General Assembly of 1793, in which occur the following words: "Finally, they recommend it to all their people to use the most prudent measures, consistent with the interest and state of civil society, in the counties where they live, to procure eventually the final abolition of slavery in America." Subsequently, the declarations of the Assembly were frequent and always to the same tenor. There was thought to be nothing wrong in legislating with reference to the institution as it existed under their own jurisdiction; and they did not deem it meddling with politics to exert their influence to secure "the abolition of slavery throughout America." Of course the days of the higher purity and holiness of the Church had not arrived, when she could not act upon any sin with which her membership was complicated, but forsooth she should defile herself thereby! From year to year the Church, both in the lower and higher courts, treated this subject, and it was thought nothing amiss to preach against oppression; to call slavery with its concomitants of man steal-

ing, dissolution of the marriage tie, separation of parent and child, cruelty—a sin, and pray for its abolition. Later refinement introduced the name emancipation, a distinction scarcely known in the simple days of the Church, when to get rid of slavery in any way was called Abolition, from the very natural primitive Latin. So when the Assembly of 1818 met and chose virtually to reaffirm all the previous testimonies, by adopting unanimously one far more distinct, denunciatory and sweeping, even the fathers in the South—who had not learned, as yet, when they said slavery ought to be abolished to mean, “it must be perpetuated to the millennium”—voted with their brethren in the North for a declaration containing the following sentiments: “We consider the voluntary enslaving of one portion of the human race by another as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, and as utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves, and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ, which enjoin that all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. Slavery creates a paradox in the moral system. * * The consequences of slavery are not imaginary, but connect themselves with its very existence. The evils to which the slave is exposed often take place in fact, and in their very worst degree and power. * * From this view of the consequences resulting from the practice into which Christian people have most inconsistently fallen, of enslaving a portion of their brethren of mankind—for God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth—it is manifestly the duty of all Christians who enjoy the light of the present day, when the inconsistency of slavery, both with the dictates of humanity and religion, has been demonstrated, and is generally seen and acknowledged, to use their honest, earnest, and unwearied endeavors to correct the errors of former times, and as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and, if possible, throughout the world.” Can we suppose that any one could have uttered these words during the last twenty years, before an audience in the South, or even before a “conservative” congregation in the North or East, and not been accused of political preaching? Is it to be

supposed that the writer could have gone, in the year 1860, to South Carolina, the State of his fathers, and there, even among his kindred at Columbia, have uttered these words, and escaped without personal injury? Yet eminent men of all parts of the South voted for this very deliverance. Here is a calm, duly considered, and carefully worded minute, passed unanimously by the Church in her highest tribunal, yet involving all that any Church Court ever did utter on this subject; embracing every thing that the opponents of slavery have desired, and containing the whole substance of the present political strife. This declaration appeared to satisfy the Church at large for a long time, though there were deliverances by particular Presbyteries and Synods, which affirmed substantially the same thing. No general testimony would have been required from the Church after this had its recommendations been faithfully executed. For in that case the Church would have freed herself from this sin and shame; and it is not too much to believe had she been faithful to her duty, she would have led the whole country to eradicate the national plague spot, and thus have prevented the present horrid insurrection and strife. But while we pass any other declarations of the Assembly, till 1845, it would not be proper, especially in view of the recent action of the Kentucky Synod with reference to the deliverance of the Assembly of 1864, to pass by the action of the Synod of 1834, prepared by a committee appointed for that purpose. This paper, let it be remembered, was enacted in a slave State, drawn up by slaveholders, approved by a slaveholding people, with no taint of Northern Abolitionism or political preaching in it. It is impossible to quote more than a sentence here and there; but to those who are not familiar with the whole, we can truly say that any one part of this very long testimony is quite as decisive as another in the utter condemnation of slavery morally, politically, and socially. "Its effect is to deprave and degrade its subjects by removing from them the strongest checks to human corruption. * * It dooms thousands of human beings to hopeless ignorance. * * It deprives its subjects, in a great measure, of the privileges of the Gospel. * * This system licenses and produces great cruelty. * * Brutal stripes and all the varied kinds of personal indignities are not the only species of cruelty which slavery licenses. The

law does not recognize the family relations of a slave, and extends to him no protection in the enjoyment of domestic endearments. * * It produces general licentiousness among the slaves. * * This system demoralizes the whites as well as the blacks. * * This system draws down upon us the vengeance of Heaven." Now if human language possesses the power to be more explicit in the utter condemnation, more uncompromising in the absolute abhorrence, more sweeping in unqualified denunciation, we have never discovered it. The most cordial hater can here find an armory wherewith to equip himself against all defenders of the "Divine Institution." True, the language is temperate, but it is the still, small voice, which is more terrific than the thunder crash. It is barely possible, had this paper been presented to the Synod, in 1864, some tender consciences might have felt constrained to protest *against contaminating the Spiritual Kingdom of the Lord Christ, by the introduction of some of Cæsar's carnalities*. Possibly some holy sufferers from Federal oppression might have been straitened in their bowels, lest, by being brought to a vote on such a paper, it might be discovered which side of the civil strife they occupied. But we have become wiser now. In 1834, men had just sense enough to speak the truth, call things by their right names, and clinch their convictions by a vote. Now we are too smart, by half, for this. *We have no convictions, and are heartily ashamed that we ever had any.* As a Synod we talk on both sides and vote on neither. Instead of calling obdurate sins by hard names, we gloss them over with soft, mellifluous periphrases; and through fear of offending some erring brother (who shows very plainly he has no fear of offending us), reeking with treason and deserving the rope, we enter into a compromise, the main features of which are to surrender every vital principle, to put ourselves out of sympathy with all good men, be compelled to eat our own words, and gain nothing from our opponents but contempt for our craven concessions.

This is somewhat in anticipation of our subject. The Assembly of 1845 made a notable deliverance on slavery. The paper of 1818 was entirely satisfactory to both sections at the time, and continued to be so to the Northern section of the Church. But in the mean time the political creeds of the South had undergone a change. Formerly the fathers of the Republic, as well

in the South as elsewhere, looked upon slavery as a temporary evil to be tolerated only until the political body became strong enough for the safe removal of this imposthume. But now, either the increased productiveness of slave labor occasioned by the invention of Whitney's gin (by which, as many wise men once thought, cotton had become king), or else superior wisdom, especially in Scriptural interpretation, had shown the economical nature and Divine warrant for the system, and the modern Pharaoh was hardened to such degree that he was not disposed to let the people go. And when Pharaoh led the van, Potipherah followed in the rear. Of course there is no insinuation of any connection between the two powers; for be it known that by the year of grace 1845, there were already intimations of a degree of holiness in the Southern Church, which turned out of doors not only Cæsar but all his belongings; which preached a Christianity so sublimated that it contained nothing that ever did, nor, by possibility, ever could have any reference to concrete virtue or sin. Be that as it may, the Assembly of 1845 passed a paper—not unanimously—which was intended as a sop to the Southern Cerberus—slavery, freedom from political intermeddling, and cotton. Of the character of this paper it is not our purpose to speak particularly. Suffice it to say, it *did not satisfy* the North, which had been content with that of 1818; and it *did satisfy* the South, which had by this time discovered the imperfections of the former one. It would be our individual opinion that the deliverance of 1845 is somewhat feebler in its condemnation of slavery than that of 1818, were it not for the opinion of the author, whose judgment ought to silence all when he says: "The act of 1845 is less pro-slavery than that of 1818." Capable, as its author is, of deciding with reference to his own meaning, and competent as he is on a subject about which he has succeeded in making men of both parties believe he advocated their diametrically opposite principles; being at the same time "just as much opposed to slavery as any body," and yet no Abolitionist; still, strange to say, he did not satisfy the anti-slavery wing of the Church. For the ghost of slavery would not be laid, and it reappeared next year in the Assembly, and again in 1849, '50, '61. The desire to prevent agitation is manifest in the action taken these several times, and all that was done was to refer to the previous deliverances;

it being thought that action then, because of the growing excitement, was "unnecessary, untimely, and unwise." But in 1863, when the autumnal fruits of slavery were grown in rich profusion, in a war of Cyclopean magnitude, when the conscience of the Northern Church forced its highest court to an expression, and when either the absence of our Southern brethren, and the consequent fear of giving offense was removed, or, perchance, the mind of the Church had become emancipated, at all events it reaffirmed, in unmistakable language, the action of 1818, with which the Church was then satisfied; showing that so far as the Northern branch was concerned she was perfectly content, and moreover, consistent with her former declarations.

Coming now to the last general deliverance of the Church, viz., that of 1864, we find no difference in sentiment between it and that of 1818. There is the same distinct and unqualified condemnation of the whole system, and a determination to get rid of it. The difference between the papers is not in the animus exhibited as to the nature of the thing itself, but as to the time and mode of destroying it; now that it has become intolerable to the Church, as the chief author of the evils which affect our distracted land. Thus, while the action of 1864 declares: "Whilst we do not believe that the present judgments of our Heavenly Father and Almighty and Righteous Governor have been inflicted solely in punishment for this sin; yet it is our judgment that the recent events of our history, and the present condition of our Church and country, furnish manifest tokens that the time has at length come, in the providence of God, when it is His will that every vestige of human slavery among us should be effaced, and that every Christian man should address himself with industry and earnestness to his appropriate part in the performance of this great duty;" the Assembly of 1818 enjoins upon the Church "as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion," * * "and we earnestly exhort them" (*i. e.* those already laboring to abolish slavery) "to continue, and if possible to increase their exertions to effect a total abolition of slavery. We exhort them to suffer no greater delay to take place in this most interesting concern than a regard to the public welfare truly and indispensably demands, * * and the duty is indispensably incumbent on all Christians to labor for its complete extinction." The

two deliverances are so entirely in concord wherein they refer to the nature of slavery and the necessity of its entire abolition, that it is unnecessary to compare them further. The only difference is that in that of 1864 the time for final action is believed to be fully come. The judgments of God which good men had formerly considered as impending, have burst upon us; and now the sin must be put away that He may remove His rod.

Nor is the jurisdiction of the Church in this matter a whit more extensive than that of 1818. It is there claimed that the Church has power to free herself from this evil; and by an injunction to do so, of course, the duty is implied. Nor does the action stop here, but she must use her "honest and unwearied endeavors to correct the errors of former times" (i. e. in the introduction of this system into our communion), "and as speedily as possible" not only "to efface this blot on our holy religion," but also "to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and if possible throughout the world." Here was political intermeddling of the most extensive kind foreshadowed. The Church is to begin by exercising her jurisdiction in freeing herself "from this blot on our holy religion." The leaven is to work outwardly, even if it interfere with municipal rights, with State constitutions, with fugitive slave laws. It intermeddles with State sovereignty, provided that be based upon or connected with the peculiar institution. It even ventures upon *obiter dicta* and runs counter to the decisions of eminent jurists, where they say that "a negro slave has no rights which a white man is bound to respect." It might even interfere in the rights of commerce, in rendering unprofitable the traffic in bloodhounds. It goes beyond our pent-up Utica, and ventures on a politico-missionary tour to all Christendom; and when all Christians shall have acknowledged the equal right to freedom, founded in the brotherhood of Christ and in common sense, the missionary is to go on his work of reformation to all the ends of the earth. Very intermeddling political act that of 1818. Probably had its requisitions been carried out, the king of Dahomey would have felt himself constrained in conscience to utter a solemn protest against such political preachers, as he saw his slave pens torn down, and his cargo for the next slaver escaping to their native villages.

Doubtless he would have adopted the language of one of old. *These Christians do exceedingly trouble our city, being political preachers. They have turned the slaves loose in my market over the sea toward the sun setting; and now having turned the world upside down, have come here to put my whole craft in danger.*

Enough has been adduced to prove incontrovertibly these two facts, viz., that the Church claimed jurisdiction in the matter of slavery, and that she considered this system a sin involving every species of iniquity; and therefore to be abolished at all hazards, and as speedily as possible. These facts are reiterated and reaffirmed by successive Synods and Assemblies, which embraced the leading men, the piety and talent of the denomination. They are set forth in no crude and momentary action, but are the matured opinions, the well-considered utterances of men who knew what they wished to say, and did not hesitate through dread of offending erring brethren, to declare the truth. It is perfectly safe to affirm that the opinions of the Church, as expressed in her judicatories from 1787 until 1845, exhibit no variations of utterance touching this subject, except a growing restiveness under the felt guilt of the system, a greater zeal for its overthrow; and naturally enough an increasing distinctness and particularity in its condemnation. The earlier action exhibits unflinching hostility, but expresses disapprobation in general terms. The later, previous to 1845, as feeling disappointed at its continuance, are more oburgatory, while pointing out, with greater accuracy, the special guilt and sin which it entails. Even the action of 1864 is virtually contained in that of 1818, and in that of the Synod of Kentucky, of 1834: so that the position of the anti-slavery party of the Church is precisely that of the whole Church until 1845. Accordingly, those who uphold the action of 1864 have at least the consciousness of being consistent with themselves, and with the solemn and well-matured opinions of the fathers. So that whether these views be right or wrong, at least they must be allowed this recommendation, that they do not war with the fixed principles of the Church; nor have their authors changed their base in attacking anew the sin of slavery.

Here, however, we are met by the persistent efforts of those who oppose the action of 1864, to show that the Church has departed from her ancient landmarks, and ventured upon new

and dangerous, even political, grounds for her action; that she no longer contents herself with her own jurisdiction, but must take part in the civil strife of the day; that while doing what she has always insisted on doing, she arrays herself with one of the political parties, because it chooses to announce as one of its cardinal principles the same which she has always held. Hence, to satisfy these new apostles of Church purity, she must abandon any or every one of her tenets, no matter how vital or long she has held it, provided the State trenches thereupon; and so, should the State, by an increase of morality, choose to undertake any measure relating to Christian duty, for example, that of punishing profanity, or of sending missionaries to the heathen, of course the Church must abandon her proper vocation, lest she be accused of intermeddling. Moreover, if one of the political parties be more virtuous than the other; if it make temperance, education, relief of the oppressed, obedience to magistrates, as the ordinance of God, a part of its policy, then the Church must wash her hands of all such unholy companionship; and, by keeping aloof from this party and all its measures, effectually throw herself into the arms of the other faction, which, like Gailio, cares for none of these things; but which believes that neither Church nor State has any thing to do with morality or religion; which thinks that education to both white and black races is dangerous; that intemperance is no sin, since it is the unbounded use of one of the good creatures of God; that the negro is to be oppressed for all time, because he is (not) the offspring of a certain Canaan, who was cursed; and that magistrates must not be obeyed, nor governments sustained, because that implies an infringement of the rights of men to do, each what seemeth good in his own eyes!

But the Church is not to be driven from her position by any such sophistry. She will still stand where she has hitherto, and is not responsible for the grievances of those whose opinions have so changed that they can not abide by her decisions. While the Church has, in the main, kept on in the even tenor of her way, those of the discontented faction have progressed backward so rapidly, that there is nothing in common between them and her. Now, if schismatics will honestly acknowledge that they, and not the great body of the Church, have

apostatized, then, at least, there would be the virtue of sincerity, the frankness of an open adversary, who is willing to be judged by his real sentiments, and suffer the consequences of his own acts. But instead of this they make the dishonorable attempt to throw the *onus offensiois* on those who believe and act as they have always done. These are accused of wishing to divide the Church by freeing from its communion those who will not abide by their own covenants. By secret insinuation the Church is accused of doing violence to the consciences of God's people, in putting a political yoke upon their necks, while the real state of the case is, that they have so far departed from the faith, and given heed to the lying spirits of sedition and treachery, that they can not or will not see the difference between the preservation and the utter subversion of all that constitutes us a Church or a people. Thus we hear complaints that the last Assembly placed them in a position of hostility, and therefore "they do not love that high Court as well as formerly." But the true case is, that they have placed themselves in antagonism to the Assembly; they do not love the Assembly, not for what it has done to them, but for what they have done to it—on the principle that we dislike more one upon whom we inflict an injury, than one who commits a trespass against us. It is a matter well worthy of inquiry, how far this hostility to the General Assembly is fostered and directed by a hatred to the Government to which the Assembly adheres. Of course we can not tell the mind of every one who opposes this last action; but one thing is clear, we do not know of any person who is a cordial supporter of his loyal Government, who "loves the Assembly any less" for what it did the last meeting. On the contrary, we do know that all the politically disaffected; those who have aided and abetted treason; those who, while claiming to be loyal, always act in concert with the disloyal; those who continually prate of the usurpations and cruelty of the Federal power in ferreting out and bringing to justice those who, while enjoying its protection, threaten its life—these men have nothing to say as to the unlawfulness of joining in rebellion, or the inconsistency of that branch of the Church which broke off in order to keep free from intermeddling in politics, now found in the van of insurrection. No, we have no difficulty in determining, the

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moment we hear a man speak of the constraint of his conscience in the matter of the Church acting just as heretofore, that such tender conscience is not at all burdened in aiding and abetting sedition, robbery, and murder. We earnestly desire all such possessors of burdened consciences to know, that, however they may deceive themselves by such pratings and assumptions of extra holiness; however much they may dupe a misguided people by teaching doctrines of Church purity, they do not deceive us. Their designs are transparent as the day. It is not the first time the cry of "stop thief" has been raised in a crowd to direct attention away from him who has just violated the eighth commandment. We do not then think that it is necessary for the Church to trouble herself to convince these erring brethren that they are in fault. They know this already, unless they are given over to strong delusions; and if schism follows, the guilt of this be on their own heads; for the Church at large is innocent. For these reasons we oppose the recent action of the Synod of Kentucky, in its dissent from the General Assembly, and the censure implied therein. For in this the Synod most certainly proved recreant to her testimonies in 1834, and to the general spirit of her utterances for the last three-quarters of a century. It is clear that the Assembly of 1864 did nothing more than was contained by implication in the act of 1834, as may be seen by a comparison of the quotations. Nay, verily, strong as the Assembly's action was, we venture most confidently to affirm that the Synod of 1834, by its committee, went further, used stronger language, and exhibited more intense earnestness in every respect, save that the Assembly conceived it saw, in the present posture of our country and the Church, the indications that the time for final action had, in the providence of God, fully come. Now, the only tendency of such action as the last, is to put the Synod out of sympathy with its true friends, and the friends of virtue and law every-where. It satisfied no person, because it was not what any one really desired. It changed no person's opinions; it bound no conscience; it uprooted no prejudice. All that it did effect was virtually to estrange it from the Church of our fathers, and, by an intimation of our lack of confidence in its wisdom and discretion, to apply an entering wedge for future blows to drive

even to severance. Let us examine this paper somewhat particularly. It says: "The General Assembly at different times, but especially in the years 1818 and 1845, set forth the opinions and views of the Presbyterian Church in the United States on the subject of slavery. By these deliverances this Synod was willing, and is still willing, to abide; and any further or different utterance on that subject by the last General Assembly was, in the judgment of the Synod, unnecessary, unwise, and untimely. Unnecessary, because the former deliverances were sufficiently expressive of the views of the Church, and had been acquiesced in with great unanimity for many years. Unwise and untimely, because the whole country was excited upon the subject of slavery, and the means adopted by the President of the United States for its extinction—in regard to which there was great division of sentiment in the public mind; and the Assembly could not take any action on the subject without at least seeming to cast its influence with one or the other of the political parties which divide the country. * * The action of the Assembly was untimely, because times of high political excitement are not proper occasions for ecclesiastical courts to express opinions upon the topics which constitute the party issues of the day. The mission of the Church is spiritual, and any interference with matters purely political is a departure from her duty." This is followed by a declaration of strict adherence to the General Assembly, which, so far as the formal action goes, neutralizes all that precedes, but does not take away the implied censure for acting on the subject at all; and particularly at this time. It is as much as to say, "the Assembly has done wrong, yet we will adhere to it as strongly as though it had done right;" in other words, the wrong that it has done does not affect us in the least. The gist of the whole matter, so far as the subject at issue is concerned, is contained in three words, viz., that the action of the General Assembly was "unnecessary, unwise, and untimely." Let us consider each briefly. If the mere fact that the Church had once passed upon a certain matter rendered it improper for ever to reconsider that subject, nothing would soon be left to do. For as fast as it once delivered an opinion, then the action being final, this subject is for all time removed from the list of matters for consideration; and so when the topics of real

importance, being always few in number, are exhausted, then the mission of Church Courts is ended. On this principle all the action from year to year is unnecessary. So, also, the preacher must open his mouth once for all on a given topic, deliver his dictum, and it remains like the decrees of the Medes and Persians. Or, not to confine him so closely, after he has several times taught certain doctrines, he must not repeat his views, albeit they are true and wholesome, though an exigency may arise from the peculiar moral condition of his people, which renders it in the highest degree requisite that they be instructed again. But while the history of the world repeats itself in its essential features, and each day, though not the same as the preceding, has substantially the same requirements, there is the necessity of line upon line, and precept upon precept. The course of moral teaching is like furnishing daily bread. While the sin remains it must be preached against, and while the people remain in ignorance, or lapse back into corrupt views on any special duty, they must be instructed again and again. Though in the Word of God there is a complete directory for the practice of virtue, though every topic of Christian morals has been ably handled, and all this be within the reach of him who wishes to know the truth, yet the Church must have a living ministry to enforce, by renewed and constant application, the truths which are her inheritance. Nay, even in the Word of God, in its several books delivered in different ages, and in the same book revealed during one man's life, there is this repetition of leading truths. Hence, the declaration of the Synod that the last deliverance of the Assembly was "unnecessary," if true, must involve the fact that the subject-matter was unnecessary, or the people not only sufficiently instructed, but faithful to the former testimonies—neither of which were proven by the views and practices entertained at that time. It is sheer absurdity to say it was unnecessary because the testimonies before had covered the ground; for such a dogma would cut up by the roots the whole system of Christian instruction, as well as supersede the necessity of Church Courts at all. More especially does this become apparent when we consider that this was a time when our country was rent asunder and bespattered with blood, because the previous deliverances of the Assembly on slavery had not been heeded.

It is not strange, then, that while our country was in a deadly struggle through the civil strife brought on by this sin, which the Assembly had so often deplored and condemned, it should be deemed proper for the Church once more to deliver her solemn testimony.

But the action is also considered "unwise." Why unwise? Because it set forth substantially what the whole Assembly and what this Synod had constantly affirmed ever since they both had a being. Unwise because it was wrong in itself, contrary to the Word of God, and to sound morality? If so, why was this fact not discovered in reference to previous deliverances? Was it unwise in itself considered, or because of the men who voted for it? Then, let it be condemned on its own demerits, and a better way shown. If the men of the last Assembly were not wise, let the Synod show them their error, which can only be done by stultifying themselves and their fathers in all the past. Yes, truly, if this action was unwise, all our past course on this subject was equally so; the present convictions of the great body of the Church on matters vital to morality, are all folly, and the religion of the Bible is a delusion. Once more. The action is "untimely;" and the reason adduced is that this is a period of excitement, when men's minds are inflamed, and there is danger of such action being construed into favoring one of the political parties. We have here, then, a sad evidence of willful blindness or perversity, when brethren can see in the present mortal agony of a nation contending for its very existence nothing but a *mere contest of political parties*. If this war, begotten, nurtured and maintained both by and for slavery, does not mean the subversion of free government, the destruction of the principle that the majority shall rule, a principle which is the glory of Presbyterianism, and which it is our boast that the Republic copied from our polity—then, pray, what is it? A mere party contest forsooth, which has drenched our land with the noblest blood, and caused our country to swarm with guerrilla cut-throats, laboring in the interest and by the sanction of treason. But a fair, soft name does not change a foul deed. Yet something must needs be done to appease those brethren whose consciences are straitened by any appearance of favoring the cause of loyalty. Admit that this is a time of excitement, and that the country is divided as to the desirable-

ness of abolishing slavery. What then? Who brought us into our present excited state? Those who were satisfied with the former position of the Government and the deliverances of the Church on this subject? Surely if they were satisfied, they would desire no change. What if the country is divided? What has divided it, but that which Stephens said was the corner-stone of Southern institutions; and Dr. Palmer declared it to be the mission of the Southern Church to conserve? No one, perhaps, will now say that slavery has not been the cause of our troubles, and therefore there is no need to argue the point. But you must not say so, lest you take sides with one of the political parties, and thereby offend brethren who never hesitate to take the other side. On this principle the miscreant who burns your house must not be prosecuted, but conciliated, lest he assassinate you in the bargain. If the Church deliver an opinion at all on a subject quite within her jurisdiction, as assumed by her previous action, when is it more timely for her to do so than when she sees the sin in question culminating in ruin to our country, and misery to all persisting in its continuance? Now is the time, when slavery is on its trial before the bar of the Church, the State, the Nation and the world. Testimony is now rapidly taken to show that it is guilty, and must die the death. Where can it be more timely than now for the Church to utter her voice? Suppose a murderer who had been the terror of a country was on trial for his crimes, and there was one witness of undoubted integrity, whose acquaintance with the history and acts of the culprit was thorough and circumstantial, and therefore his testimony material to the case; would it be proper to exclude this evidence because a community was highly excited, and outraged justice was calling for the offender's blood? Suppose further, that the murderer belonged to a gang of banditti, who were known to be desperate men, and from their affiliation with influential families exercised a dangerous power, must he therefore not anger them by testifying to the truth? Who but a craven-hearted poltroon would be willing to compromise justice by avoiding the hatred or securing the favor of such a man or party—a party which at best could be depended upon only when help was needed to commit some abomination? Untimely, indeed! If the help of a friend is untimely when you need it, why should it ever be

given at all? But here comes in the hobgoblin of political intermeddling, of joining a party, of soiling the beauteous garments of the Church *by being found on the side of the State which cherished and protected her*. There are but two parties in our country, that which is for its preservation and that which is for its destruction; and all men must range themselves on the one side or the other. Now if sedition, robbery and murder are sins; if slavery is what it has often been pronounced to be, a sin; if it draw upon us the vengeance of Heaven as the Synod of 1834 declared, then is it a mere matter of political partisanship to range ourselves on the side of the lawful authority, and the Church to be found testifying for truth and righteousness; especially when this requires her to compromise no principle, to enunciate no new doctrine? If taking the part of the Government at such a time as this be meddling in politics, make the most of it. For one we desire it to be known, that at the time of our country's peril we were found on her side, and not ashamed to declare our abhorrence of that skulking timidity which fears to utter honest convictions, or lukewarm patriotism which loves our country less than its enemies. By the maintenance of such principles we will live, or contending for them we will perish. But here we incur no risk of becoming political partisans, except in the estimation of those who have already bound themselves heart and soul to that faction whose avowed object is to destroy the Government of our fathers, and out of its ruins erect an aristocracy whose corner-stone shall be that sin which the Church has always condemned. Even now, by the action of 1864, the Assembly does not go to the State and seek to join itself to its policy. The State on the contrary has come to it, and avows as its course that which has been the declared policy of the Church from the beginning. If there is any intermeddling, it is the State which does it; and surely the Church must not forsake her mission because the civil power comes nigh and offers her a helping hand to do that which hitherto she has found herself unable to accomplish. Therefore we deem the Assembly entirely in the right in its last deliverance, and the Synod entirely wrong. True, it may be said, that passing this paper was better than being forced to accept a worse one. But that is not the alternative with good men. The choice is not between a great and a small sin; of

two evils choose not the least, but neither. Hence such a victory is a defeat, such a compromise is a virtual surrender of principle. It gains no friends to the side of right, it silences the clamors of no foes. Each man goes home with his own interpretation and his own convictions: the one to lament that he is compelled, contrary to his better judgment, to vote against the Assembly, and determining to rectify his record in the future; the other with more violent antipathy because he has been foiled in his attempts at schism, and with deeper laid schemes to carry his measures by more subtle trickery. So it is emphatically our opinion that the action of the Synod, to use its own words, was "unnecessary, unwise and untimely."

But perhaps too much of a local character has already been said. We are always prone to think our own grievances the greatest, our own acts the most important. It matters very little what a disintegrating faction in Kentucky may do, except in so far as principles of universal application in the Church are concerned. The Church at large will probably survive the blow, if the corporal's guard of tender consciences shall find it necessary to set out on a pilgrimage to seek the Southern Confederacy; and there join in founding a Church where there shall be neither national politics, Northern learning, piety or morality. But we much doubt whether even such a pure Church can long exist when its creed, its sacrament and its mission shall have been emancipated.

The action of the Assembly of 1864 is more important than that of any preceding Court, not because it enunciates any new doctrine on the subject-matter of slavery, or exhibits any clearer testimony than had been previously rendered, but because it assumes that the time for final action had now, in the providence of God, fully come. It is pertinent to our subject to consider this statement at some length. The sentiment of the Church, as we have seen, has always been inimical to slavery, and she constantly looked forward to the time when it should be utterly uprooted. This also was the common opinion, at least expression, among all those interested, that the slaves were to be emancipated as soon as God should open a way for doing it safely. It is not needful to inquire how far pecuniary interest aided in the discovery of arguments to show that such a time had not come; nor how it could ever arrive when each

succeeding lustrum did but make it evident that said set time was removed further into the future. These arguments were sometimes based upon the danger of political action; often on the unfitness of the slaves for freedom; seldom on the gain which would accrue to the master. The last is the more singular, because strangers sojourning among slaveholders were thoroughly instructed in regard to the idleness and ignorance of the negro, (whom no one was permitted to instruct); the unprofitableness of slave labor, and the perpetual worry and vexation which they gave their masters in the humane efforts to educate and civilize them. This may perhaps be accounted for on the ground that slaveholders always claimed to be actuated exclusively by principle, and not by filthy lucre as other men. However this may be, nothing could be done because the period for emancipation had not come; and it would be doing wrong to hasten it before its time. By this salvo the conscience was lulled to rest, and delay in doing what was felt to be a duty, was construed into a virtue; since, however good the thing, it must not be done in too great a hurry. So the Colonization Society, though praiseworthy in itself, as far as regards the negro who emigrated, and the savage country to which he went as a sort of missionary, yet on the matter of hastening emancipation, was an arrant cheat. Men engaged in this enterprise merely to relieve their consciences for being slaveholders, or for showing to the world what firm friends they were to freedom; when at the same time they knew perfectly well that a system which removed a few hundreds every year, while the increase of the slave population counted by hundred thousands, could not, according to the known arithmetic, in any brief period remove the institution. But great progress has been made in brushing away the sophisms in regard to the fitness of the negro for freedom. Since we find that he can no longer be kept as a slave, many reasons can be discerned and admitted for his emancipation. Whenever the world becomes ready intellectually and morally for a change, it is fair to argue that the time has come providentially for its accomplishment. The belief that we are ready for emancipation is well nigh universal, and is founded on two considerations. The first is that slavery is inconsistent with the purity of our Church and the existence of our Nation. While this view was held by many

at the beginning of hostilities, yet the great majority of our people would have been perfectly willing to secure peace by new compromises with slavery. Doubtless, had the insurgents been defeated in the year 1861, (which humanly speaking looked feasible) it would have been re-established on a firmer basis than ever. But by and by as the contest continued, the people became more fully aware of two facts, viz., the South rebelled to conserve and extend slavery, and that this system was really the strength of the insurrection. Disguise the fact as we may, it was patent to all that where slavery did not exist there loyalty prevailed; and that as the war in its natural progress interfered with it, there hostility to the Government manifested itself among those who hitherto professed a nominal loyalty. Moreover, the rebellion was kept alive by enabling the masters to enter the army, leaving the slaves at home to gather the crops which fed them. So at last the country was reluctantly forced to the conviction that slavery must be killed, or it would take our national life.

Then again the course of Providence has shown us our error in regard to the negro himself. We who lived off his labor, had so often asserted that he could not take care of himself alone, that we actually believed it. This contest has shown that he possesses all the essential elements for a free man. He has proved his own manhood in many a hard fought battle. He has met his haughty Southern oppressor where men have to lay aside their prejudices, and shown himself a soldier quite equal to him who formerly classed him among his cattle. He has shown an aptitude for education now that opportunities have been opened to him. Formerly he was pronounced hopelessly dull in those States which made it a felony to teach him to read. He has also shown a fidelity to the principles involved in our national strife, and always, when allowed a free choice, ranged himself on the side of freedom and loyalty. He has proved himself strangely perverse in preferring to be his own master to continuing under the guardianship of his indulgent overseer. How often have we experienced the vanity of the assertion that negroes will not leave their masters; or if they do, will be glad to get back again. They do not seem to appreciate the blessings of servitude; which if a blessing at all, is perchance so much disguised that the dull comprehension of

aged men and women, who have all their lives had ample opportunities of enjoying its sweets, can not perceive it. Thus, as regards both races, the time so long hoped for by the real friends of freedom, so long prated about by its hypocritical advocates, has now come when the negro can with safety be set free.

Other providences are conspicuous. The natural tendency of a civil war is to emancipate a servile population; and that too, whether either party desires it; much more so when the contest is virtually about its continuance. The progress of armies render null the ordinary operations of law, and where restraints are removed those who are bound only by them will be set free. If you break the bottle which contains the volatile gas, it escapes. And it is certainly too much to expect the powers of the Government would still uphold a system which made and supports the war, in the interests of the enemy. Wherever therefore the shock of battle and the power of arms is felt, slavery must necessarily cease. Again: In a struggle which requires such immense resources, we must expect each belligerent to avail itself of help from every quarter. Hence as our armies are depleted by slaughter, sickness or expiration of time, when more are needed and the negro be found capable and willing, why shall we not use him? Whether a loyal negro is as good as a traitorous white man, is not a question we will stop to discuss when an armed foe threatens to destroy our Government. So it is that some two hundred thousand negroes are engaged actively in the contest for the Union, and with such favorable results that the insurrectionary party are fain to follow suit. Of course they doubt not that the far greater affection the slave has for his oppressor, and the remembrance of all the overseer's kindness, will make him more faithful to his old master, who loves him far too well to make him perpetually miserable by giving him freedom—than to the one who in good faith offers him a musket and tells him to assert his manhood. Thus, between the two woodmen the axe is dealing lusty blows at the tree of slavery; and all who wish safety had better stand from under. And still further, the hostility to slavery is manifesting itself in the action of several States whose people have voted on this subject in a manner startling to others, if not to themselves; and new States arise

from their effete oppression. The feeling is well nigh universal that slavery is dead; and now the desire is strong, urgent and impatient to bury the filthy carcass out of our sight. True, there are those vain enough to think that they can stay the progress of this work. They may do so if they can reverse the dictates of the conscience fully aroused in the Church. They may effect their purpose if they can stay the determination of the American people to erase the plague spot from our nation. They may if they think to make insurrection a success, and popular government a failure. Yes, when they can take the arms from the hands of a free man who has fought our battles, and proved himself equal in prowess to his master, and make him the crouching slave that he was; when they can roll back the civilization of ages and prove to the Christian world that it is the best condition of humanity to be in slavery, then may they say, "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon."

It is often objected to the present course taken to destroy slavery, that it is not the one we desired and thought best. It is true that many philanthropists have devised schemes which they thought best adapted for its final destruction. It is but fair to acknowledge that those States where it existed had the clearest knowledge of the system and its relations; and had any scheme devised by man been effectual, doubtless theirs would have been the one. But it is not the doing of man; the hand of the Lord is evidently at work, and this fact is clearly recognized by the action of the Assembly. It seems very proper that man's wisdom should not have the honor of this work, because we delayed it so long, and threw so many obstacles in the way of its accomplishment, that we proved ourselves unworthy to be the instruments of its destruction. It is unquestionably the fact that there was far less disposition to emancipate in 1860 than in 1830; and it is a notorious fact, that, of those who were zealous in 1849 to effect emancipation in Kentucky, but a small number have continued the friends of freedom. This change, we are aware, is laid to the charge of Northern intermeddling; but how much soever the Abolitionists did interfere, even unwarrantably, on this subject, this did not change the inherent nature of the issue, nor make it less desirable. Truly that man's convictions of truth

and right must be shallow, if he is deterred from doing that which he knows to be his duty, because some officious person interferes and urges him to bestir himself. But when there seemed the least human probability of the thing being done, then the Lord led us by a way we knew not. In this we have only another illustration of the common course of God's providence. Seldom are we led by the way we expect, even to the gratification of our wishes; and it is well-nigh never by the means and methods anticipated. But so the result is attained, let us be content even though our wisdom was not consulted in its achievement. We can have but little faith in the sincerity of those friends of emancipation who perpetually prate about the wrongs done us in taking away our negroes. Doubtless the Synod thought in 1834, that we would be rid of slavery in less than thirty years by the methods proposed; but when in 1860 we are much further in sentiment from the result than then, let us take care lest our philanthropy is spurious, which refuses to take as a boon that which is offered in a manner objectionable to us. While the thing is future, and no present prospect of loss before us, we talk nobly of our purposes to do right; but when a slight sacrifice stares us in the face, we talk about "the large pecuniary interest which is jeopardized;" blame the Assembly which agrees with the civil power in the desirableness of the movement, and find our love for the Church growing feebler, because she now believes the time has fully come to do that which she always deemed desirable.

But there is still another objection urged, viz., the cruelty to the negro of turning him out so suddenly to provide for himself, without the requisite schooling for freedom. Possibly some person may deceive himself, by such a sophism, into the belief that he is acting from disinterested motives—surely he can deceive no one else. If the negro as a slave can support himself and his master, with no personal incentive to exertion, surely he can take care of himself alone, when he has all the stimuli which influence men to noble and vigorous exertion. It makes a material difference in our exertion to interpret the declaration, "By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread," to mean another shall take the first fruits, and leave the laborer the refusal; and that he who works shall receive the entire reward of his toil. But again, such

disinterested philanthropists forget one very important element, that is, if the Lord sets this people free, he will be able to provide for them. All the objections, therefore, which are urged against the action of the Assembly—all factious opposition, manifested or pretended pity for the negro, may be resolved into the love for the practice of slavery, against which the Synod of 1834 warned our people.

It has, as before intimated, been a standing reproach among slaveholders, that the Church in the North, for the last quarter of a century, has persisted in agitating the anti-slavery question; and the assertion has been reiterated times without number, that it has been only the unwarranted efforts of Abolitionists which retarded this work. This view is so often taken by good men, that it deserves a notice; for we are satisfied that they are greatly mistaken. It is certainly true that there was a time when the whole Church perfectly agreed on the subject—the South, as in the Assembly of 1818, voting for quite as radical measures as the North desired. Now, it is quite certain that the North was always satisfied with these measures, provided they were carried out in the spirit they were conceived. Moreover, when renewed action was taken in 1845, it was not to satisfy the Northern wing of the Church, but those who thought the Assembly, by the former action, was trenching on their ideas of the mission of the Southern section. This was evinced by the repeated deliverances of Southern Synods, which were unwilling that the action of 1818 should be considered as the sentiment of the Church now, but only as a history of the opinion which prevailed at the time of its adoption; and also by the signal failure to act in accordance with its provisions, in freeing the denomination from the system. A course precisely parallel to that which had been going on in the State was manifest here. While the fathers of the Republic, South as well as North, had lamented the existence of slavery, and had always looked forward to its extinction, and acted with this view, the politicians of a later date had been extending and strengthening it, until it threatened to absorb the whole country. At this the North became alarmed; for it was evident that instead of abiding by the early declarations of hostility, and measures being taken to carry out these views, the system was every day becoming more wide-

spread and immovable. Hence there was good ground for dissatisfaction in the free States. So, precisely, in the Church. Our Southern brethren, instead of taking measures to free the Church of the sin, as enjoined by the Assembly repeatedly, each year only added to the firmness with which all held their grasp upon the institution. Dissatisfaction thus arose at the want of good faith manifested by making the prospect for freeing the Church from this evil more distant and uncertain every year. In the early days of the Church, as we have seen, it seemed to be taken for granted that slavery was wrong in itself, and its necessary concomitants evil; but by and by, a set of divines arose who preached and wrote to prove the justice of the system, and its warrant from the Bible. Formerly it had been right to preach and pray against slavery, and for its speedy destruction; later it became necessary to cease this—it was meddling in political matters, and could not be tolerated. However, just in proportion as it became unlawful and dangerous to oppose, subjecting the hapless preacher or editor alike to the punishment of the magistrate and the fury of the mob—in the same ratio it became lawful, expedient, and commendable to preach, to pray, and to write in favor of the divinity of slavery—for it was not political preaching unless it was against the system; it was all precisely as it should be, provided it was in the interest of slavery—consistent alike with the highest type of piety, and the most immaculate Church purity. Now, what influence would this course naturally have on the North? So long as slavery was admitted to be wrong, and promises made for its abandonment; and while these were believed to be made in good faith, forbearance was extended to its participants through a charitable consideration of the difficulties which beset its speedy abolition. But when, instead of being faithful to the admonitions of the Church, a determination to defend and continue the system became manifest, the North took the alarm, and felt herself justified in agitation. And therefore, while we have no sympathy with the fanaticism frequently manifested; while we utterly abhor the infidel and blasphemous doctrines of Garrison, Parker, and their followers, yet we do not consider ourselves entirely free from blame for these men being what they are. Had we faithfully stood

by our former testimonies as a Church, and always acted as we spoke, these infidels would have had no power—nay, they would not have existed at all; or, if they did, only as an insignificant and despicable handful. But when we began to defend slavery by appeals to the Bible, and screen a system which embraced so many abominations, abhorrent to the moral sense of humanity, we put arms into the hands of the infidel, and gave him occasion to blaspheme. So that this perpetual prating about the abolition of the North, and its retarding emancipation, is the merest sophistry, invented to disguise our own shortcomings; and for which, in our failure of duty and unwarranted attempts to wrest Scripture, we ourselves are largely culpable. The great apostasy in the Quaker Church, by which so many became infidels, is due almost entirely as a reactionary movement against the defense of slavery on Biblical grounds. So also the swarm of fanatics, the various *isms*—those odds and ends of humanity so justly held in abomination by our Southern people, are, in large part, a fungous growth from the errors broached in maintaining this system. Their rallying cry was always Abolitionism, it is true; but this, so far from being an evidence that the rejection of slavery as a divinely ordained system leads to infidelity, proves just the reverse, namely, the attempt to harmonize the abominations which accompany it with the religion of the Gospel, render it an object of suspicion, and repel men from it.

We said at the beginning we were heartily glad that the day of compromises had well nigh passed. These are essentially wrong in their nature. Good men and measures do not need any, and bad men should not be indulged in them. Compromises for the last half century, whether in Legislatures or Church Courts, have been synonymous with joining hand to hand to do iniquity. In our later history they have had no other significance than an entire surrender of principle to satisfy a factious and wicked opposition. Hence they have become a stench in the nostrils of our people, and it is sincerely to be hoped another one will never be made in the life of our nation or Church. In saying this we do not wish to offend those truly good and lovely men, some of whom, to our joy, we know, who merit the blessings pronounced upon peacemakers. We

honor their motives, and our hearts yearn to follow their lead when with affectionate earnestness they portray the blessings of peace and unity. But still, when we speak or act we must be true to our own convictions, which are that all compromises are radically evil; and that they are mistaken who think to preserve the peace and unity of the Church by such expedients. This additional fact is worthy of serious consideration, that when a compromise is made the men of better spirit, and therefore more likely to be right, will yield most; while he who is wrong, the consciousness of his error making him perverse, will concede nothing. So it has been in every attempt to patch up a peace between the two sections of the country: those who stood where our fathers had done, in order to keep peace with an audacious faction made a compromise, this did not consist in the two parties meeting half way between justice, but in that party who had the right, surrendering half thereof, and the other nothing; or at most only half of his wrong.

In the late meeting of the Synod of Kentucky, the folly and wrong of compromises were most clearly manifest. The discontented faction, which felt itself aggrieved by the action of the General Assembly, were unquestionably wrong, else all the previous action of the Church was so. For she standing in her old position, the same which she had occupied ever since we had an Assembly, it is plain that those who complained were discontented not because the Church had departed from them, but because she would not follow their erratic course. Yet they came with all the demeanor of injured innocence, fully drilled and organized to impugn the deliverance of the Assembly; to find fault with and threaten all who occupied the position of consistency. They have so long played the part of accusers, so long asserted that they were the only ones faithful to the ancient testimonies of the Church, perhaps they really consider themselves aggrieved, on the principle that a tale-bearer may utter an untruth till he believes his own fabrication. Thus error comes clothed in the livery of truth, and truth herself occupies the position of a culprit at the bar.* *Interdum fucata falsitas, in multis probabilior, et sæpe rationibus vincit nudam veritatem.* Such was the scene exhibited in our Synod. Instead

* Lord Coke.

of meeting these men with a vigorous opposition, they must, for the sake of peace in the Church, be conciliated. But why conciliate them? Had they been injured and therefore needed to be soothed? The Church had not departed from her solemn and well-considered deliverances. She welcomed all her children with equal cordiality. Why, then, soothe those whom we have not injured? Why compromise with those who themselves are guilty of all that threatens variance or schism? It would seem that the party which had offended should take the initiative in offering terms; but here, as always in such cases, if any concessions are made, it is by the party in the right making all the surrender. Compromises, moreover, are not necessary among men who have any principle, so much as among those who are merely dissatisfied and factious. To such nothing can be done to please, because they are resolved to be displeased. This was very clear in the Synod. While the friends of the General Assembly were mostly willing to pass over the last action without comment, preferring no action at all to one in which it was manifest all could not agree; and moreover desiring to avoid controversy, by which offended brethren would estrange themselves still more, yet no such peaceable course would be accepted. Though venerable fathers in the Church besought them to consider the things which make for peace; though the substantial agreement between the last and many previous deliverances were shown; though the dangers of schism were pointed out, and they, with tears, besought to not rend the Synod; as well as the futility of factious opposition exhibited, all would not do. Agitate they must. Though they so often have said that agitation was the bane of the Church, and that all they wished was peace and "to be let alone," this only meant when agitators felt themselves in the minority. To let alone and to be let alone differ somewhat. So burdened consciences must be relieved, though theirs was a self-imposed load. Nay, even when it was proposed that the Moderator should address the Throne of Grace that the Holy Spirit might avert angry contention, this was met by the pert amendment, "Discuss first and pray afterward." When, however, this proposal did not prevail, and the Synod listened to a touching prayer for peace, the schismatic faction, almost before the sounds of supplication had died away, led off in violent invective against the

General Assembly for its "unwarranted action;" and censure of those who still supported it. Then the glove was thrown down and we accept it. Henceforth no compromise with such men nor their measures. It is now a war to the bitter end. For four years we, who have stood faithful to the Church and country of our fathers, have vainly endeavored to conciliate those who were perpetually uttering complaints and asking more concessions. There is no reason why this should continue. A change has now become necessary. We desire very much to be conciliated, and are in the spirit to require it of our petted brethren. Too long have we proceeded on the declared principle of this party, "You will not make a fuss any how, and it is better to secure peace with our party by acceding to all our demands." Forbearance toward such impudence is no virtue, and it therefore must stop. While we desire peace in the Church with all our heart, it must be an honorable one, founded on right; and not a hollow truce which, while we would feel bound to keep, our opponents would regard only as long as it was a matter of convenience. Standing immovably on the ancient testimonies of the Church, and having done nothing to offend these preachers of sedition, we will now wait our turn to be soothed. And if the worst comes, wherein medicine will not heal, the knife may prove effectual.

While the Church at large has a clear and unobstructed path before her, our way in this Synod is not without its difficulties. Schismatics are busy at work poisoning the minds of our people. What misrepresentation will not do is attempted by threats. Those who will not succumb must be deprived of their places. Public institutions are recommended in one breath for the fidelity of their management, and then shown to have lost the sympathy of the people in consequence—not of the unfitness of their instructors for their places—but because of their political opinions, and that, too, by those who constantly complain of political proscription. Then again: Most of us who are not in thorough sympathy with Secession, have hugged neutrality so long that we have become a body of trimmers, setting our sails for the propitious gale wherever that may come from. We desire very much that some person would tell us what to do, so that we might secure our own prosperity and come out on the winning side. We have tried so long to avoid

offending erring brethren that we do not know which side we really occupy. Hence, we are careful to talk and write so as to take no position. In this we vainly try to please all, and have no friends on whom we can rely. Personally, our position is a disagreeable one when any decisive step is to be taken; for an election or the varying fortunes of war may make our record ugly to face; and hence, if possible, we wish no record at all. Few people know the labors of the professed trimmer during a public crisis, save in a State like ours. Possibly in the latitude of Chicago, at one time, and at Princeton, in a slight degree, we had sympathetic brethren. We do not think the claims of our class have been sufficiently acknowledged. Having no convictions ourselves, we have to do the double work of devising arguments and speaking for both sides. Our theories moreover have this advantage. Being intended equally for both sides of the question, they have the merit of freedom from prejudice so often displayed by those who have strong and healthy opinions. Then, being modest and unwilling to herald our own praises, we fail of due consideration. For we belong to a class never held in much favor by the world, especially if our true character be known. Besides, we offer this signal advantage, we may be counted on for hearty support by the winning party as soon as the victory is decisive; and none can shout louder when danger is past and the future beset with no difficulties. And not having any opinions to sacrifice, we also have no prejudices, and can instantaneously adapt ourselves to whatever comes upon us.

There are a few, however, even in the Kentucky Synod, who fully agree with the great body of the Church. These feel that the time so long hoped and prayed for, when the blot on our holy religion shall be effaced, has fully come. Slavery has proved a burden too heavy to be borne by our country any longer. With its sin and disgrace to the Church fully before us, with its outrageous attempts at the life of our country, with its Moloch sacrifice of ten thousand hecatombs, and in the face of our own action, we can not endure the shame of putting back the guomon thirty degrees that it has gone down on the dial of Civilization and Christianity.

ART. IV.—*Enmities and Barbarities of the Rebellion.**

FROM the character of the rebellion against the Government of the United States, from its prompting cause, and from its avowed purposes, it would be natural to expect that the enmities it would engender in the hearts of those who are prosecuting it, and the barbarities it would develop in their conduct, would be somewhat remarkable; but we doubt whether the most sagacious would have ventured to predict what has occurred.

All wars, and especially all civil wars, are fruitful sources of evil, of every imaginable form and character. Family feuds are the most bitter of any which occur in social life; and in wars, those which take place between communities of the same blood, language, and religion, are often the most fierce and desperate of any known among men.

The present civil war has one ingredient upon the side of the rebellion which has not hitherto been found in any war waged since the dawn of history, by a people combining so

* 1. *Address of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America*, to all the Churches throughout the Earth, as reported by Rev. J. H. Thornwell, D. D., from a Committee appointed to prepare it, and unanimously adopted by the Assembly, at Augusta, Ga., Dec., 1861.

2. *Narrative of Privations and Sufferings of United States Officers and Soldiers, while Prisoners of War in the hands of the Rebel Authorities*; being the Report of a Committee of Inquiry, appointed by the United States Sanitary Commission; with an Appendix, containing the Testimony. Printed for the U. S. Sanitary Commission. 1864.

3. *Southern History of the War: First Year of the War*. By Edward A. Pollard. Richmond, Va., 1862. *Second Year of the War*. By the Same. 1863.

4. *Address of (the Rebel) Congress to the People of the Confederate States*. Issued from Richmond, Feb., 1864.

5. *Official Reports of Battles*. Published by order of (the Rebel) Congress. Richmond, Va. 1 vol. 8vo. 600 pp. 1863.

6. *State Papers, Messages, Proclamations, Letters, Speeches, etc.*, of President Jefferson Davis, during the Progress of the War. 1864.

7. *History of the Administration of President Lincoln*; including his Speeches, Letters, Addresses, Proclamations, and Messages; with a Preliminary Sketch of his Life. By Henry J. Raymond. New York. 1864.

8. *Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War*. Presented to both Houses of Congress of the United States; including an Account of the Massacre at Fort Pillow, and of the Treatment of Prisoners of War in Rebel Prisons; together with the Testimony. Published by Authority of Congress. 1864.

largely intelligence, ability, scholastic and literary cultivation, social refinement, high chivalric bearing, and, to a considerable extent, an attention to the demands of revealed religion. Whatever may be said of large numbers in the rebel States, these qualities are conceded to belong to the major part of the leaders of the rebellion; and it is to them alone that we look for its inspiring genius and spirit, as it is upon them that we place the entire responsibility for its character and consequences.

THE STIMULATING CAUSE.

The ingredient of which we speak is negro slavery, under the desire to make it universal and perpetual; and that which gives a coloring to the contest which no other war has ever had, is the bearing which this element has in instigating the rebellion, and in affecting the temper and acts of all who are concerned in it.

No war was ever before undertaken by such a people, for the extension and perpetuation of human bondage. It was the boast of Mr. Stephens, the second officer and the first statesman in the rebel Government, that their Government was "the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth," that "slavery is the natural and normal condition of the negro." As no nation was ever founded upon this idea as its "corner-stone," and no war was ever before waged to maintain it, we may well look for some unusual developments when we see such an object, for the first time in the world's history, undertaken by such a people; and especially when, under the burning scorn of the whole civilized world which denounces the object, it is sought to be accomplished by the enginery of war, upon a scale and with an energy which have scarcely a parallel, and against a Government which, except among despots, has universally been regarded with favor and with hope by the nations of the earth.

As long as the signs gave promise of success to the rebellion, it was not to be expected that the real spirit which animated the leaders would be developed to the full, either in feeling or action; but as their cause has, from time to time, given out to themselves indications of hopelessness, which all their protestations to the contrary have not been able to conceal, the

demoniacal hatred and savage conduct which such a course must naturally beget, have been readily made manifest. These developments can only be accounted for as the result, not perhaps so much of the institution in the atmosphere of which they have been born and have always lived, as rather of the extreme views which in latter days they have taken of it, alike within the domain of politics, morals, and religion—of the visions of wealth, grandeur, and glory which it opened to them—of the distinction, above all nations, to which it was to elevate them, in the tribute from all which it would compel—of the actual approach of the moment when these visions were to become realities, the hand being already extended to grasp the prize which they offered; and finally, of the disappointment and chagrin which the prospect of the failure of all these dazzling promises would naturally produce in the breasts of a proud and confident people. The enmities which this state of things has contributed to engender toward those who have stood in the way of their success, and the acts to which these enmities have prompted them, have been truly surprising, and as they go into history will astound coming generations. That men of such qualities as we freely accord to them, should make such an exhibition of *heart and conduct* as they do in an open and formal manner, and should make a virtue of it, shows a transformation of human nature which nothing can account for satisfactorily, but the influence upon them of the institution of slavery, under the elevated and sanctified position which they have given it.

REBEL HATRED DEEP AND UNIVERSAL.

The *state of heart* among the rebels to which we refer, is manifested in feelings of the most bitter hatred and scorn; they give to them a deliberate and formal avowal; they are expressed against the Government upon which they are warring, and against every class and every person who upholds the Government; they are acknowledged by the rebel press, both secular and religious.

They emanate from their President, in numerous speeches and State papers; from officers of his cabinet, in their reports; from members of Congress, in their harangues; from military commanders, in their orders. They are declared by the min-

isters of religion, in their discourses; and by the formal and solemn acts and deliverances of their ecclesiastical bodies, in their addresses to the Christian world. In all these, and in other ways, the leading rebels openly and unblushingly *declare before all men* their unconquerable personal *hate* toward the Government and people against whom they are waging war.

THIS HATRED NOT MUTUAL.

It will be said that these enmities are equally engendered and manifested on both sides of the contest; or, as some declare, that the North, in this, exceeds the South. We meet this at the outset with a flat denial, and challenge the proof that shall *correspond in character and circumstances* with that we are prepared to give.

No message, order, letter, speech, or proclamation, has ever emanated from President Lincoln, dating from his Inaugural Address to the last which has come from his pen, that bears any trace of hatred, personal or official, toward the Southern people at large, or toward those in rebellion, or any portion of them. The instance can not be produced. On the other hand, scarcely any thing which has come from Mr. Davis, but has the opposite character. This is true of his proclamations, numerous public speeches, letters, and messages, both those intended for home consumption and for effect abroad. We say nothing now of the truthfulness as to matters of fact, of the State papers, and other utterances, of these respective personages; but we speak simply of the evidences which the latter bear of *hatred* and *contempt* of the Government and people of the North. The same difference is true of the papers which have emanated from Cabinet officers on both sides. It is true of military orders. It is true, to a very large extent—there may be a few exceptions—of the secular press of the two sections. Of the religious press of the North and South, so far as this has come under our knowledge, we believe it is entirely true. Among divines, we can show evidences of this hatred in those who rank the highest in different denominations in the South, while we doubt whether a single case of a corresponding standing can be found among the clergy of the loyal States. As to religious bodies, the same may be said. While some of less note at the North—though we know of

none—may possibly have exhibited this enmity in their resolutions or deliverances, some of those at the South, of the largest influence, greatest numbers, and highest standing, have openly *avowed* this hatred on their part toward their brethren and the people of the North.

We are well aware, that while these avowals are openly made by men of the South, they *charge* that similar or a more intense hatred exists against them at the North. But here lies their grand error. The Government and loyal people hold that those in rebellion have committed the gravest of crimes in the execution of the work which this view of their duty imposes upon them.

It is not material to the present point, whether this judgment be correct or not. Treason and rebellion against lawful authority, backed up by war, are universally regarded among nations as the highest offenses which men can commit. By all nations, all concerned in them are punishable with death. This is the penalty by our own laws. The Government and loyal people, moreover, deem it their duty to put down the rebellion by force of arms, and to inflict the penalty of the law upon those concerned in it, or at least upon their leaders. Nor is it material to the issue immediately in hand, whether they are right or wrong in this view of their duty. The only question now is, as to the *feelings* manifested by the Government and loyal people.

That which the South charges as enmity and hatred, is simply a disposition to punish what is universally regarded as crime. It has no more of personal ill will in it, either as manifested in official acts of the Government or in its support by the people, than the verdict of the jury, the sentence of the judge, and the execution by the sheriff, necessarily have toward those who are found personally guilty of robbery or murder. The mildest and most amiable man in society may be decided in his convictions that the murderer shall be punished with death; he may as the judge sentence him, or as the executioner inflict the penalty of the law; and yet he may cherish no more ill will toward him than his own father. We do not believe that among the mass of the people, those who desire to see the rebellion put down and its leaders punished, are in any large number prompted to this desire by personal enmity, or seek the

gratification of the passion of revenge. On the other hand, nothing is more common in the South than the formal, open *avowal* of such personal enmity; and that, too, by those in high places. It is so deeply seated that they can not repress it. They make no effort to conceal it. It exists in the heart; and, therefore, its intensity brings it to the lips, and manifests it in deeds.

It is very easy to say, in reply to all this, that the South is more open and candid; that the same enmity is felt at the North, but that its people are hypocritical, and do not therefore express what they feel. This is too shallow. If the same bitterness were *felt* at the North, it would be *expressed*, in words or deeds, or both. It is because the same hatred is *not* felt, that it is not manifested. We do not now speak of exceptional cases, which may be found on both sides. We speak of what is a general characteristic in both sections; and in regard to this, we say, that these enmities are *felt, avowed, illustrated in acts*, at the South, as they *are not* at the North. Of this, the proof is abundant.

I.—*Illustration of Rebel Enmities.*

There are two branches of the general subject. One of these shows the bitterness of *heart* prevailing at the South toward the North, presenting different types and shades of manifestation as seen in their verbal utterances of every varying character, and from all sources of private and public expression. The other exhibits the *acts* and *conduct* sanctioned by the rebel leaders, presenting barbarities which are the natural offspring of the hatred cherished, and which give a character to the rebellion unparalleled in the prosecution of any war among a people of the high qualities which they claim, and which, independently of the modification which the present contest has wrought, we freely accord to them.

The first of these branches exhibits elements of this bitterness of heart which are worthy of the study of the philosopher and the analysis of the ethnologist. The rebels ever claim, from their President down to the lowest in rank, official or social, who speak for them, that they are a superior race to the people of the North; that they come of a prouder stock, and have in their veins a nobler blood. Hence, they seek out the strongest terms of

reproach and scorn, and utter them with sneers and contempt, to characterize those with whom they are contending. They regard "Puritan" and "Yankee" as synonymous of all that is low, vile, and mean; and they freely bestow them upon the whole people who are supporting the Government. Their President, whom they claim to be "pure, polished, and scholarly," is not excepted from the category of those who deal in this abuse. His State papers and speeches furnish the evidence. Their orators and journals make such things the staple of their rhetoric. Contact with the people of the North is contamination. The chivalry would not have them for their slaves. They would rather perish than live under the same Government. If peace should be settled upon the basis of their independence, it would even then be as much as they could bear to have any political or commercial intercourse with the North. As for social intercourse, it could not be thought of for a moment. For all the qualities of manhood, their negro slaves are infinitely superior to "the vile horde of Yankees."

The whole vocabulary of billingsgate is exhausted, in the effort to give vent to the feelings of hatred which rankle in their chivalric bosoms and stir their noble blood. They turn the subject over in every possible way, and rack their brains for tropes and metaphors to do justice in outward expression to the bitterness which reigns within.*

* We could fill pages, in proof and illustration of this Southern hatred, but the fact is too notorious to require it. The *New York Times* says upon this subject: "This display of feeling is of much more significance than a superficial glance would discover. Every one who has been in the habit of reading the extracts copied from the Southern newspapers, has seen that the constant effort of the leaders of the rebellion has been to fill the popular heart with rancor against the North, as a geographical division. The term 'Yankee' is made the epitome of every thing that is odious, and is applied indiscriminately to all who dwell north of Mason and Dixon's line. When Northern parties are spoken of, a certain difference is made between the epithets applied to each. The supporters of the Administration usually get the benefit of the adjectives that express pure hate, while its opponents are more apt to be favored with those that imply contempt. But whatever discrimination there may be in the language used, there is one constant object—and that is the surcharging the Southern heart with the intensest aversion to the Northern people. The Southern man has every influence brought to bear upon him to make him inveterately hostile to the Northern man. This is just what might be expected. The supreme object of the rebellion is separation from the North; and of course, the more complete the moral separation, the easier becomes the material." As a bare specimen of

That these feelings are sincere, we do not doubt. That they have a bold and formal avowal, and from the highest places in social and public life, we have painful evidence. Rebel statesmen and journalists continually avow them. Religious men and religious bodies proclaim them, although in the vehicle of their enmity, in some cases, they do not exhibit so flagrant a breach of good taste. But however choice or guarded their language, their hatred is manifest, for they in terms declare it.

REBEL ENMITY OFFICIALLY AVOWED BY RELIGIOUS MEN.

The "General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America," by the pen of Dr. Thornwell, "unanimously" declare, of the people of both sections, that "they *hate* each other with a *cruel hatred*;" and this is presented as one of the reasons to justify that body before the Christian world for separating, *as a Church*, from their brethren of the North, in the "General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States."

We do not assume that because that body "unanimously" so declare, that they, of absolute necessity, *all* so feel; and yet it may be so. They claim, however, to utter what is true of their section; and they no doubt speak truly. They make no exception, and give no intimation that the Church at large of the South is not a participant in these feelings. They make no exception for themselves. They avow the hatred boldly, and so far as appears, declare it to prevail universally. As this is given as a reason for a separation of the Church, it is fair to presume that they mean to be understood as saying that the

Southern feeling, take the following from the *Richmond Examiner*: "Now, we know fully from what a rotten carcass we have cut ourselves loose; and to escape its pollution no price is too great. Rather than submit to that foul embrace again, we would bid higher and still higher, until nothing were left to the few survivors of us but bare life. In this sense we may almost be said to be in some sort obliged to the Yankee nation." Of like character, is the following *official* ebullition. General Dick Taylor, (son of the late President Zachary Taylor, and brother-in-law to Jefferson Davis,) in a congratulatory order to the soldiers of the "Trans-Mississippi Army," upon the victory over General Banks on Red River, says: "Long will the accursed Yankee race remember the great river of Texas, and the changed hue of its turbid waters darkened with a liberal admixture of Yankee blood. The cold-blooded alligator and ravenous crawfish wax fat on the rich food, and our native vulture holds high revelry over many a festering corpse."

whole Church of the South so feel toward the North. They then, if we understand them, admit that "they hate" the people of the North "with a cruel hatred;" and they openly declare this to "all the Churches throughout the earth," as one of the reasons formally presented and argued, to justify their secession. We can readily believe that these feelings are really entertained, and their avowal heartily sincere, from developments which are daily occurring in the progress of the rebellion, for the early instigation of which, these men occupying the high places of Zion, are so largely responsible.

But, on the other hand, we totally deny the right of these men—either individually or of this whole "Confederate General Assembly," collectively and "unanimously"—to characterize, in this manner, the people of the North, and especially the Church of the North, and more especially the Church from which they have separated, or, so far as we know, any of those connected with it. The denial might probably be made for other churches, or for all, at the North. We speak more particularly of the Presbyterian Church, because we are better acquainted with it, and because it stands more directly related to this Southern Assembly as having once been one with it.

NO ENMITY ENTERTAINED BY THE NORTHERN CHURCH.

We are bold to say, that the search may be made, in the deliverances of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, upon slavery and upon the state of the country, from those made in 1861 to those made in 1864, and no evidence whatever can be found therein of "hating with cruel hatred," any portion of the people of the South; nor is there any avowal or admission that such feelings exist among any portion of the people. No such expressions are found in any of these papers, because no such feelings are entertained. In the several protests which were entered by a portion of the Assembly, no *charge of hatred* is brought, and there was no ground for it. On the contrary, so far from any hatred being felt, deep sympathy is both felt and expressed in those papers, for Christians at the South. In so far as they are believed to have been guilty in their course, that opinion is expressed, and lamentation over it is made. But while the Assembly condemns what it believes

to be wrong, it is the farthest possible removed from any expression of hatred.*

As an evidence of kind feeling, the General Assembly has never formally declared the Southern portion of the Church separated from it, or recognized the schism as an accomplished and irremediable act. It has left the door open for a return. The volume of minutes contains on its roll to-day the names of every Presbytery and Synod in the rebel States. This, certainly, is more than a negative testimony against the existence of "hate with a cruel hatred." In a few instances, the General Assembly dropped from its Boards, and in some cases Presby-

* In the "protest of Dr. Hodge and others," to the action of the General Assembly of 1861, it is said: "We protest, fourthly, because we regard the action of the Assembly as unjust and cruel in its bearing on our Southern brethren." This is no charge of hatred or cruelty in any *feeling* entertained. The Assembly, in their answer to this point, say: "As to the final ground of protest, it is enough to record our simple denial of the opinions expressed." There were five other protests to this action, but none of them make any allegation of unkindness. In the Assembly of 1862, there were four distinct protests or dissents to the action upon the state of the Church and the country. In only one of them is found any intimation of improper feeling toward the South. In that of "A. P. Forman and others," it is said: "The spirit of the paper we deem to be too harsh, and by no means to accord with that spirit of love and tenderness to erring ones which every-where pervades the Gospel of Jesus." But the paper to which exception is thus made, contains these expressions: "To the Christian people scattered throughout those unfortunate regions, and who have been left of God to have any hand in bringing on these terrible calamities, we earnestly address words of exhortation and rebuke, as unto brethren who have sinned exceedingly, and whom God calls to repentance by fearful judgments. To those in like circumstances who are not chargeable with the sins which have brought such calamities upon the land, but who have chosen, in the exercise of their Christian liberty, to stand in their lot and suffer, we address words of affectionate sympathy, praying God to bring them off conquerors. To those in like circumstances, who have taken their lives in their hands, and risked all for their country and for conscience' sake, we say, we love such with all our heart, and bless God such witnesses were found in the time of thick darkness." In the Assembly of 1863, there were no protests entered to the action concerning the state of the country. The paper adopted says: "Nor need this body declare its solemn rebukes toward those ministers and members of the Church of Christ, who have aided in bringing on and sustaining these immense calamities; or tender our kind sympathies to those who are overtaken by troubles they could not avoid, and who mourn and weep in secret places, not unseen by the Father's eye." In the Assembly of 1864, there was no action taken which shows any bitterness of feeling toward any portion of the South; nor were there any protests entered to the Assembly's paper on slavery, nor to any of the papers adopted occasioned by the existence of the rebellion.

teries have erased from their rolls, certain members who were known to have taken up arms against the Government, or in other respects to have aided the rebellion. But this is no evidence of hatred. These acts have occasioned mourning and sorrow. They have been deemed to be demanded, because the course of these men was criminal; but no hatred has been evinced.

In the event of a reunion of the Church, North and South, if it should be deemed best that a more decided expression of the guilt of the Southern Church should be declared, it would be no proof of any degree of hatred, or of any other improper feeling. Or, on the other hand, whether during the war or after the war, or when the political Union shall have been restored, if the General Assembly in the loyal States should deem it best for the religious interests of the country, to restrict the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church to the territory which it has practically covered during the war, and to recognize or declare in the most formal manner the disruption of the Church, and to set forth the reasons therefor "to all the churches throughout the earth," the reader of such document, we venture to predict, would look utterly in vain for the least intimation of "cruel hatred" on their part avowed in justification of such a course.

What we here declare for the Presbyterian Church at the North—all which is sustained by its official action—we have no doubt is true of every other large body of Christians. Not one of them, we hesitate not to say, has made any such exhibition of "hatred" toward the South, as the "Confederate General Assembly" avows for itself and for the South, to exist toward the North. If any single Presbytery, Conference, Association, or other religious body, at the North, has put itself upon the record upon that level, the case has escaped our notice and is an exception; but we do not believe the single instance can be found.

GRATUITOUS CHARGES—ENMITY FURTHER ILLUSTRATED.

It is quite common, in despite of the record referred to, among a certain class of Southern writers, to bring against Northern men charges of enmity and malice entertained toward the South. One of the more noted examples of this which has

fallen under our notice, is found in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, for April, 1863. It is from the pen of Rev. Dr. Smyth, of Charleston, S. C. He says :

A mind conscious of its sincerity of purpose, and of the righteousness of its desired end—of having a good cause, and justifiable means for its accomplishment—is essential to success. This alone can now animate and sustain the people of the South, whether in the army or out of it, in the patient endurance of past misfortunes, present calamities, and possibly increasing difficulties and dangers. Such a faith will be found to have constituted the vitalizing principle of all successful wars, the secret power of all celebrated warriors, the soul of the Reformation, and the indomitable spirit of our Revolutionary fathers. We have seen, therefore, with what witchcraft the North has succeeded in leading its people so generally to believe that our cause is wicked and theirs righteous, sacred, holy, divine. We are rebels, traitors, criminals, execrable sinners, and deserving the uttermost punishment on earth, and everlasting damnation in hell. The highest sanctions of piety and patriotism have been made to overcome all natural feelings of sympathy and compassion; to inflame malice, hatred, and all uncharitableness; to call down fire from heaven to destroy us; to sustain their present Government in its suppression of all their own liberties and fundamental rights, of all freedom of speech, of the press, and even of thought; and to overwhelm them with a debt of many hundred millions of dollars, and increasing at the rate of six millions a day; and to justify a war of rapine, rape, murder, vandal destruction, inquisitorial espionage, ecclesiastical despotism, and servile massacre. They have a zeal of God, but it is not according to knowledge. Their faith is, therefore, fanaticism. They substitute opinion for truth, dogmatism for doctrine, philosophy (falsely so-called) for religion; and, adopting as a maxim the Jesuitical dogma that the end sanctifies the means, they stop at nothing, and are willing to be branded by an outraged world as infamous, for their mendacity, perfidy, shameless brutality, and an unbridled despotism, more execrable than that of Bomba, if by any means they can subjugate and enslave the South. What melancholy evidence of the overwhelming force of this fanatical fury, and of its blinding delusion, is given in the transformation effected in the principles and character and conduct of such men as Drs. R. J. Breckinridge, Spring, Hodge, Jacobus, and Plumer, and Sidney A. Morse, Mr. Dickinson, etc. Such men now profess to have lost confidence in our morality. And well may they, and we alike lose any confidence we ever had either in the sincerity, uprightness, or power of the human mind, and even in Christian principle, in its present imperfect development. Well may we say, "Cursed be the man that trusteth

in man; " for surely the wisdom of the wise has become foolishness, and the purity of the pure tainted with the corruption of selfishness and sectional prejudice. To this blind, fervid fanaticism, the South must oppose the only invincible shield, and that is faith; faith in God, faith in His Word, faith in His omnipotent providence, faith in the righteousness of a cause sustained by His immutable and everlasting truth. She must be able to give a reason for the hope that is in her, to herself and to every one that asketh it, that so, being clad in Divine panoply, she may be able to withstand in the evil day, and bear up, with unshrinking fortitude, against the heart-sickness of long-deferred hope, and the manifold disappointments, disasters, privations, losses, and bereavements, of a protracted and barbarous war.

Dr. Smyth is an able, accomplished, and scholarly clergyman; not an American by birth, but long a resident of the city where the present treason had its birth, allied by marriage to one of the wealthiest families of South Carolina, of the highest social standing; and his position has given him an opportunity for taking an enlarged and comprehensive view of the contest on the part of the South, which he so eagerly defends.

We have given this extract at much length, not wishing to break the connection of the train of thought; but it is not our intention to dwell upon the matters in full which its pregnant sentences contain. We only note the point immediately in hand: the charge of *hatred* and *malice* which the writer so freely brings against the North, and against several of the most distinguished gentlemen of the North by name, mostly clergymen. We presume the introduction of Dr. Plumer's name in this category is simply a mistake.

It would have been much better for Dr. Smyth's reputation, had he given some evidence of the truth of the charges he here brings against these gentlemen. To couple the names of the most eminent men of his own Church, with saying of those in the same Church at the South, that they are "deserving of everlasting damnation in hell;" that "the highest sanctions of piety and patriotism" demand this; that these men are inflamed with "malice, hatred, and all uncharitableness," toward those of the South, and would "call down fire from heaven to destroy" them; that they "justify a war of rapine, rape, murder, and servile massacre;" and that they are the subjects of a "fanatical fury" and of a "blinding delusion," which have wrought

such a "transformation" in their "principles and character and conduct," as justly makes them the objects of this holy execration; all this, or any part of it, if laid to the charge of such men, should be substantiated by the most incontrovertible testimony. If Dr. Smyth does not prove it—and he makes no attempt to do so—he lays himself liable to the charge of grossly slandering the most eminent of his brethren.

We do not believe there is a particle of evidence to sustain these charges, to be found in any thing which the several clergymen here named, or any of them, have either said or written, since the beginning of the rebellion. Nor do we believe that they entertain the feelings here attributed to them. That they regard the South as engaged in "rebellion;" that its "cause is wicked," and that of the Government "righteous;" that the leaders at the South, whether in the Church or out of it, "are rebels, traitors, criminals," and therefore are "deserving of punishment;" and that, therefore, both "piety and patriotism" may properly call for the execution of the law in such case made and provided; all this is quite likely. But this does not establish, that "they hate with a cruel hatred," as the "Confederate General Assembly" declare, a single Southern man; neither does it prove the least weighty of Dr. Smyth's charges against them; nor does it show that "all natural feelings of sympathy and compassion" have been "overcome" in them.

It is quite probable, however, that while they, in common with many at the North, mourn over the folly and sin of their brethren at the South, in the course that many of the more prominent of them have taken in regard to the rebellion, their "natural feelings of sympathy and compassion," take, to a considerable extent, another direction. They feel for and compassionate the vast multitudes whom the war, which these rebel leaders have begun and are waging, has maimed and made miserable for life; the myriads whom, in the youth of their days and in the prime of their manhood, it has given up to slaughter; the families all over the land, that it has filled with mourning; the widows and orphans it has made; the general desolation it has wrought, North and South; the form of government it has imperiled; the millions it aimed to hold more securely in a relentless and never-ending bondage; the rolling back of the tide of human liberty, now sweeping onward over

the world, which the success of the rebellion would have occasioned; and the blasting for ever, as a final result, of the hopes of the down-trodden in all the despotic governments of the earth.

Just men, godly men, when such a contest is raging, give their "feelings of sympathy and compassion" to the community at large, thus outraged; to the interests of humanity, thus set at nought; to the cause of good government, law, order, and the stability of society, all which are prostrated before the aims of ambitious men in this rebellion—rather than, in the *comparison*, waste their sympathies upon the authors of all this wickedness, be they few or many; be they in Church of State; be they high or low in social life; be they of noble or ignoble blood; be they our "brethren," or be they strangers; and the higher their standing, and the greater their influence, and the more sacred their calling, the less deserving are these "architects of ruin" of the "sympathy and compassion" of men who have a right perception of moral distinctions, and any proper regard for God and righteousness. This, at least, is our own position, and we are willing to go with it to the judgment of God.

MATTERS PERSONAL AND IMPERSONAL.

We are led, at this point, to notice a portion of this article of Dr. Smyth, which bears directly and personally upon the writer of these pages. He deems it important to introduce our name to the public, and to condemn us upon false charges. We are not disturbed at this; and as we are mentioned along with some of the most eminent men in any branch of the Northern Church, who are likewise condemned by him, we only suffer with others who have been faithful to rebuke the ringleaders of treason.

We are not anxious to bring any matters of merely personal concern before the public; but as Dr. Smyth, in this article, under the head of "The Divine Right of Secession," has seen fit to attribute sentiments to us which we have never uttered, and as we have no opportunity to bring the matter to his notice in any other manner, we shall be pardoned for referring to the subject here. Attempting to justify secession from the Word of God, he says:

From these admitted premises, divines at the North, of every denomination, with amazing unanimity, have drawn the conclusion that the secession and defensive war of the South is rebellion and treason against God's ordained government, and are, therefore, to be "crushed out" with all the weight of unmitigated and pitiless destruction. The cool ferocity or raging vengeance with which this interpretation of God's Word has envenomed the hearts of the most humble and venerable Christians at the North, is perfectly appalling. Not Saul, in his career of murderous persecution, nor the disciples, when they would call down fire from heaven to destroy, were more inflamed with pitiless malevolence, by the infatuated thought of doing God service, than are modern successors to their misguided zeal. Earthly suffering to the uttermost is not enough. Swift destruction does not slake their fiery vengeance. It is not enough, like Dr. Stanton, to gloat their eager thirst for our misery; to anticipate, in fiendish joy, the hanging of their *Christian brethren*, (the italics are Dr. Smyth's), and the helotry of our wives, mothers, and sisters; pandemonium must be prepared; purgatorial fires must be made a reality, and hell's fiercest flames must everlastingly torment us.

Then, after pursuing the argument some farther, Dr. Smyth says:

Such are some of the monstrous falsities, assumed as true, in the inferential argument which justifies Dr. Stanton, as the mouth-piece of multitudes, in the atrocious language attributed to him. * * * In the name, therefore, of eternal justice, sacred truth, and divine charity, we protest against an inferential argument from Scripture, which delivers over millions of people to temporal and everlasting destruction; which converts the best of Christians into the worst of persecutors, and transforms even the love of Christ, our common Saviour, into the heartless malice of His crucifiers.

Upon this extract a few remarks are demanded. 1. We presume Dr. Smyth refers to the writer of this article, for there is no other person of the same name in the ministry of the Church to which we both belong. 2. It is not our purpose to enter into the argument upon "the Divine right of secession." We shall not here stop to controvert the view which Dr. Smyth takes of our part in the discussion, so far as we have had any; for upon the general considerations involved, he embraces the mass of the Northern clergy, and speaks of some of the more distinguished of them, and of other gentlemen, by

name, as we have already shown. We are, then, at least, in very respectable company. 3. In regard to the "atrocious language" attributed to us by Dr. Smyth, we say, as in reference to the other gentlemen he names: It would have been much better for his reputation had he given some evidence of the truth of the charges he here brings against us—had he given the *ipsissima verba* of this "atrocious language." To notice this charge is the sole object we have in here referring to the matter at all; and we have merely to say, that no such language was ever used by us, at any time, or in any place or manner, oral or written, concerning our "Christian brethren," or any other persons engaged in the rebellion. We do not accuse Dr. Smyth of fabricating this charge. He has been imposed upon by some person, in all probability. How such information could reach him, shut up in Charleston, we do not know; but we suppose some Northern "sympathizer" put the "atrocious" calumny through the blockade with other "contraband goods." We have never said or written any thing out of which such a charge could be tortured.* 4. We have notions, which some tender-hearted people may deem rather stringent, as to the manner in which *all leading traitors* in this rebellion should be treated *for humanity's sake*; nor have we yet seen any thing, in human or Divine law, which properly exempts men from the just punishment due to crimes against society of the highest grade, because they are "Christian brethren." On the contrary, the "Christian" character, standing, and influence, social and official, of these "brethren," makes their guilt all the more glaring and deserving of punishment, in the sight of God and man.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF REBEL ENMITY UNIVERSAL.

It would be a work of supererogation to present the formal

* All that we have ever published, in any possible way, bearing upon the matter in hand, previous to the publication of the article of Dr. Smyth, is contained in a Fast Day Discourse, preached Sept. 26, 1861, and in one or two articles in the *Danville Review*. Nothing whatever can be found in any of these about "our wives, mothers, and sisters, pandemonium, purgatorial fires," and other dreadful things which Dr. Smyth has conjured up; nor do we think any candid and loyal person will "attribute" to us any thing "fiendish" or "atrocious," either in the "language" or spirit there exhibited.

proof that enmity toward the loyal portion of the country pervades all classes in the South. He who reads knows it to be true. Several of the works named at the head of this article exhibit the evidence in a most striking and painful light.

Mr. Davis has often, with remarkable studiousness, taken pains to infuse this quality into many of his State papers, but more frequently into his speeches. The fitting time seems generally to have been when addressing the army. On these occasions he has sought the most opprobrious epithets to characterize the President, Government, and people of the United States. His more recent visits to the army, after the fall of Atlanta; his speeches at Macon, Charleston, and Columbia, show the bitterness of his heart to the full. The lowest and vilest terms were selected, and the strongest figures of speech were employed, as the vehicle of the bile and malice which rankled within. The direct effect would naturally be, and undoubtedly the deliberate purpose was, to stimulate the rebel soldiery to the intensest possible degree of personal hatred toward those whom they should meet in battle, and thus to render the contest all the more relentless and bitter. One of the earliest "orders" of the late Bishop Polk, as Major General, spoke of the people of the North as a race of "fanatics and infidels," and represented the South as contending, in this war, for their "liberties and their religion."

The Address of the Rebel Congress to the People of the "Confederate States," issued in February, 1864, from Richmond, is characterized by the same fell purpose and spirit. The press of the South is full of it. The evidence of this is daily set before us. How opposite to this is the spirit of the Northern press, almost universally. When commenting upon the remarkable "manifesto of the Rebel Congress," alluded to above, the *New York Times*, a leading Administration journal, says:

. It will always, we are satisfied, be a matter of pride and satisfaction to the friends of the North, that, in spite of the intensity of the feeling roused by the struggle in which it has been engaged for the last three years; in spite, in short, of the fact, that this struggle is a civil war—its writers and speakers have, *except in very rare cases*, refrained from the railing and vituperation on which the Southern leaders seem to rely largely, both for exciting the sympathy of foreigners and keeping up

the courage of their own people. In fact, there has been *no characteristic* of the contest so marked and so strange as the *absence of vindictiveness* on the part of the people of the free States. Our offenses against good taste have consisted rather in exaggerated estimates of our own strength, and undue depreciation of that of the enemy; or, to put it in plain English, in inordinate bragging, than in abuse or scolding. This calm, or phlegm, whichever it may be called, has unquestionably been a source of military weakness; but it has, as unquestionably, been a proof of moral strength. If it has served to prolong the war, it will do for our reputation what the war alone could never have done.

The above is the utterance of a secular journal of the highest character, in the commercial metropolis of the nation, whose opportunities for knowing whereof it affirms are unsurpassed. It unquestionably gives a true representation of the general feeling at the North, as entertained toward the South.

While the foregoing is true, here and there a press is found at the North in full sympathy with the rebellion, which exhibits as much venom toward the Northern people and Government as is seen in any Southern journal. There are several secular papers of this character, but we have never met with but one such claiming to be religious. Every issue of the *True Presbyterian*, lately published at Louisville, Ky., but now suppressed by the military authority, was filled with the most vile abuse of every thing and every body that was loyal to the Government and in favor of putting down the rebellion. If there was any one direction which its malice took more than another, it was against New England. It would be difficult to find a single number, and possibly a single column, in which the term "Yankee" did not occur, as the exponent of the object of its hatred. We have never been able to understand this phase of its special enmity, unless it should be found in the fact, that its editor (an exile from his adopted country) was educated for the Gospel ministry *by the kind hand of charity at a New England College*.

It is not among the least significant of the evidences of an utter absence of enmity among the people of the North toward the South, that they not only can tolerate the diatribes of the Southern press without having their equanimity seriously disturbed, but that they can allow presses and speakers at the North to abuse the Government and loyal people, and express

sympathy for, and thus aid the rebellion. It is only when the bounds of all truth and decency are passed, as in the case of the *True Presbyterian*, that the Government has thought fit to interfere.

II.—*Rebel Barbarities Illustrated.*

The atrocities which the rebellion has exhibited from the beginning, and during every stage of its progress, form one of the most prominent features in its extraordinary annals. This does not strike a careful observer with much surprise. It is but the natural fruit of the animosity entertained toward the people of the North generally, with these additional elements: the consciousness, on the part of the leaders, of being engaged in a bad cause, involving the gravest crimes against humanity; first, in making war upon a popular Government which had never, by the testimony of their ablest statesmen, infringed upon their clearly-established constitutional rights, and which, by its representative, the newly-elected Administration, stood pledged to the world to secure to the Southern States every constitutional guarantee of those rights in the future; and secondly, in making this war for the universally avowed purpose of establishing an independent government, "the first in the history of the world," upon human bondage as its "corner-stone," in order to make that bondage permanent, and to enlarge its area to the utmost extent.

It would be quite natural, that a war undertaken for such a purpose, should exhibit in its progress inhumanities of an unusual character; but it was scarcely to be expected that they would be quite so openly defended by the rebel press and boasted of as a virtue, or that when acknowledged by rebel Generals they would be justified by the rebel President. Much less was it supposed that the most shocking of these barbarities—as for example, the indiscriminate massacres at Plymouth and Fort Pillow—would be justified by an appeal to the law of nations and the laws and usages of civilized warfare. But all these things have been done, and they stand out in bold relief before the world. Their occurrence is so well known, that we shall but briefly refer to the facts; our object being to show, to what a towering height of crime the rebel leaders in Church and State have been carried, these results being but the natural fruit of the movement they set in motion, and the

specific acts being but the inevitable consequence of the enmities which they have so sedulously nursed and so boldly avowed.

EARLY INSTANCES OF REBEL BARBARITIES.

The bitter hatred which the leaders infused, to so large an extent, into all classes of the Southern people, was manifested at the very beginning of the war, in acts which would have condemned any other people to eternal infamy, in the judgment of the civilized world. We need not recite, in lengthened detail, the scenes which occurred at and immediately after the first battle of Bull Run; in the brutal treatment of prisoners who were captured from the Union forces; in the frequent massacre of the helpless wounded; in the indignities shown toward the dead, in the manner of the burial of officers and privates; in the desecration of soldiers' graves for plunder; in the boiling of human bodies, and in the making of drinking cups of "Yankee skulls," and of ornaments for the *boudoir* and fingers of Southern belles out of "Yankee bones;" and of the open exultation throughout the South, in high places, that the "sacred soil" would be fattened by the carcasses of "Yankee hirelings." All this is too well known to need any thing here but a bare reference. It is officially proven by the report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War of the Congress of the United States. It is boasted of by Southern journals. It is the theme of epistolary correspondence between devoted lovers.*

* Speaking of the Plymouth and Fort Pillow massacres, the *Washington City Chronicle* of May 6, 1864, says: "They (our armies) will not forget that the barbarities thus gloried over by the Richmond conspirators, can not be excused on the ground that they resulted from the employment of colored men in the Union armies; for they will remember the startling exposure of the Committee on the Conduct of the War after the first battle of Bull Run, in the summer of 1861. There were no black men in the Union army then, and yet, such was the ferocity of the rebel chiefs, that the dead bodies of some of the bravest and best of the men fighting under the old flag were found unspeakably mutilated. Their bones were converted into ornaments for the adornment of the persons of Southern women, and in some cases the remains of the unconscious dead were so disfigured that they could not be recognized by their nearest and dearest friends. * * * From that hour to this, and we say it with sincere sorrow, there has been other exhibitions of inhumanity on the part of the rebel soldiery; and now, when the colored men have been at last invited to take part in the effort to maintain the Republic, the horrible massacres at Fort

Nor is Bull Run the only scene of revolting barbarities toward noble men who have fallen in a noble cause. At Chicamauga where the rebels held the battle-field and won a victory, several weeks afterward it was found that the bodies of Union soldiers remained unburied, and in some instances their skulls were placed to ornament the stumps of the ground which they had consecrated to liberty by their blood. And so it is on many of the battle-fields of the South. These things have been done openly. The rebel press has declared that such indignities are but just; that the "Yankee" soldier is unworthy of a grave on the "sacred soil," and that "his flesh is only fit for manure;" and yet, that press claims to represent a people who boast of their "blood," of their "high chivalric bearing," and who "call themselves Christians."

We would not be understood as making these charges against the whole people who support the rebellion. We know there are many in the South who must condemn such things. And yet we also just as certainly know—and all the world knows—that these and similar practices have been extensively commented on, extenuated, avowed, and justified by the Southern press. But what we do not know—and what we believe is incapable of proof—is, that such barbarities have characterized the Union armies in dealing with the living or the dead; and had any such occurred, we believe that they would not have been made the subject of boasting and justification by *even one* loyal journal in the Northern States.

But we are not too ignorant of history to know that in all wars, and by all armies, cruelties and inhumanities are practiced. We too well know what has occurred in our present struggle to make it an exception. It is no doubt impossible, with the best drilled soldiers, the most rigid discipline, and the most humane commanders, entirely to prevent horrors that chill the blood and are contrary to the usages of civilized nations. Nor do we assert that the Union armies have been wholly free from these things. But here is a characteristic difference. The most revolting of the atrocities of Southern troops which have marked the course of this war, have occur-

Pillow and Plymouth are not only not doubted by the people, but are officially proved by another report from the Committee on the Conduct of the War."

red under such circumstances, and on so large a scale, that they reveal a system of warfare which has been adopted by those in command; and the vindication they have received from the press, and from those in the highest civil authority, shows that it is but the reducing to its legitimate details of the *plan formed in the Council Chamber of Treason*.

In order to give a succinct view of what we wish to say upon this branch of the general subject, we shall present it in this order—the barbarities practiced toward the soldiers of the Republic, supposed to be in consequence of the employment of negro troops by the Government; the inhuman treatment of Union prisoners of war; and the indiscriminate slaughter of soldiers, and of men, women, and children, by the rebel armies, on the capture of certain forts—all which has been applauded by the Southern press and approved by those in authority.

SUPPOSED CAUSE OF REBEL BARBARITIES—EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO TROOPS.

In the early period of the war, there was an almost universal repugnance, among loyal men, to employing negro troops in the Union armies. Free negroes offered themselves, but the Government declined their services. The national sentiment has since changed, and now the feeling in favor of their employment is as prevalent as it formerly was against it. Directly contrary to this was the course of the rebel authorities. They, at the outset, employed negro troops in small numbers; while, on the change of sentiment among the friends of the Union, they made loud outcries that such troops should be used against them. They have studiously made their employment the occasion of the grossest cruelties, not only toward negro troops and their commanders when captured, but toward other prisoners of war in their hands; and for a long period, in consequence of their unwillingness to recognize negroes as soldiers, there was a total cessation of the exchange of prisoners.

It is a well-established fact, as shown by the Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, that negro troops have been employed in the rebel service from the beginning of the war. They fought in the first battle of Bull Run. Prisoners of war from the rebel armies, have frequently testified that negroes have been employed as soldiers in various branches

of the service. This has sometimes been denied by the Southern press. It has been freely admitted, however—indeed, acts of the rebel Congress provided for this—that negroes, both free and slave, are employed by them as teamsters, laborers on fortifications, and in other ways to give efficiency to their forces in the field. So far as adding to the military power of a nation is concerned, it can make no difference, *in principle*, whether negroes are employed as mere laborers, or as soldiers; whether they handle a spade or a musket; if used at all, it is adding just so many men to the ability of a nation to prosecute war.

Besides employing negroes, Indians have also swelled the ranks of the Southern armies. General Albert Pike, a renegade New Englander, had a large body of them under his command, in several of the battles in Arkansas. They were also engaged in the battle of Springfield, in South-western Missouri, the last battle fought by the heroic General Lyon. There is, indeed, an overwhelming amount of testimony to the point, that not only Indians, but free negroes and slaves, have swelled the numbers that have fought the soldiers of the Union.

Our firm conviction is, that, but for fear of the consequences—that the armed slaves would turn upon their masters—they would largely replenish their ranks with this species of soldiers. It is preposterous to suppose that they are restrained from this by any other consideration. They need, it is true, the slaves as laborers on their plantations. Their labor is one of the elements of their military strength. But they would select from among those capable of bearing arms, tens of thousands for the ranks, if they dared trust them with arms in their hands. Those whom they employ, they can manage without fear. The vast numbers driven into the interior from the sea-coast and from Louisiana, when our armies took possession, and others who were sent further South from Virginia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Georgia, as those States were in part or wholly reclaimed, must make it evident at a glance that many more laborers were thus crowded into Alabama, lower Georgia and the Carolinas, than could well be employed upon the plantations. What more rational solution, then, of the fact, that they have pushed their merciless conscription to the extent of sweeping into the ranks the chivalrous sons of the South, from sixteen years of age to fifty-five—and yet, not employing

this large multitude of negroes as soldiers—than that they are afraid of extensively arming them? Is it that they value the life of the negro more highly than the life of their sons and brothers? Perhaps so; he is “property.” This makes a vast difference, but it does not meet the whole case. A hundred thousand negro slaves in arms—drilled soldiers!—in the Gulf States, fighting for the rebellion and their own bondage! Can any one believe that a possibility?

NEGRO TROOPS IN THE REBEL CONGRESS.

Mr. Davis, in his message at the opening of the present session of the Rebel Congress, recommends arming *forty thousand* negro slaves, to be held as a reserve force; to be used only in case of necessity; and their freedom and fifty acres of land to be given them as a reward for their services. Will this measure be adopted? Some of the Southern papers, previous to the meeting of their Congress, urged the arming of *three hundred thousand* slaves, putting it on the ground of absolute necessity. Will this be resorted to on a large scale? We do not believe the rebel leaders dare risk it. Nearly all the Southern Governors, in their recent messages to their respective Legislatures, strongly oppose it; and it is opposed by a large portion of the Southern press. They of course do not base their objections on the ground of fear that the slaves could not be trusted to fight for the rebel cause. Such an avowal, however fully believed, would not be made. They declare that no such necessity exists; that, even if it did, the Confederate authorities have no jurisdiction of the subject; that the negroes are needed at home for laborers; and that in any event, as he is “property,” the Confederate Congress can not decree the slave his freedom. While these reasons have force, we believe that that which underlies them all, as furnishing the ground of the strongest opposition, is *the fear* of arming the slaves. Why, then, it may be asked, should not Mr. Davis share in this fear? He undoubtedly does. Hence he recommends the arming of a limited number, who could be more easily controlled. And yet, we believe the time *may* come when the *leaders* of the rebel cause, who have every thing personally to fear in case of failure, will favor a universal conscription of the slaves. They have the spirit literally to bring the heavens and earth together, and crush all

beneath them—theirself included—rather than submit to the authority of the Union.

There is one feature of these Southern discussions which is entertaining. Mr. Davis proposes to give the slave his *freedom*, and make him a holder of real estate, as a *reward* for his military services. This is violently opposed, on the ground that it conflicts with the theory on which the Confederate “nation” rests. Its “corner-stone” is that “slavery is the natural and normal condition of the negro.” All its writers have stoutly maintained, for many years past, that “slavery is a *blessing* to all concerned, especially to the negro.” How, then, is a very natural inquiry—can *freedom* be deemed a *reward*? This is, indeed, a poser. Either the Rebel Chief has made a gross mistake, or the whole Southern theory of society needs remodeling. “All the world” will not “wonder”—as it did at that famous cavalry charge at Balaklava, according to the Poet Laureate of England—at perceiving these contradictions in Rebel Ethics and Social Economy, for we have ceased to marvel at any absurdities which the rebellion can turn up; but it is evident that “somebody has blundered.” The negro in slavery is in his “natural” place, enjoying the only condition for which he is fitted; and yet, Mr. Davis would *curse* him with *freedom*! We do not “wonder” at the outcry which the Southern press raises at this. The Rebel Chief proposes, by a formal act of Congress, to revolutionize Southern society; to spoil a vast amount of learned literature, in morals, logic, politics and theology, and render the mass of Southern divines and statesmen ridiculous in the eyes of the whole world; and, what is worse than all, to crush out the “corner-stone” of the rebel nation. We expect to hear deeper howls of agony than those which now resound through the rebel States, if Mr. Davis’ recommendations should be adopted; and still, the time *may* soon come when the Southern Governors and the Southern press will be as unanimous in favor of this measure as they are now in opposition to it.

It is a fact worth pondering, in this connection, that Southern statutes, in perhaps every State, make provision for giving slaves their “freedom as a reward for meritorious services,” performed for their masters or for the public good; that manumissions, on such grounds, have been not unfrequent; and that

these laws and practices date from the earliest period. This shows that in former times slavery was deemed, in itself, an undesirable condition for the negro, and that *freedom*, even for him, rather than *slavery*, was a "blessing;" and it shows, also, that the contrary ideas, which now so generally pervade Southern society, are of very modern growth. Mr. Davis may possibly have retained the old notions on the subject; but we rather presume that his late recommendation of freedom as a reward for the military services of the slave, was made in deference to the public sentiment of the world, for which, for policy's sake, he may still retain some lingering regard.

THE PRINCIPLE CONCEDED—NEGRO TROOPS IN ALL COUNTRIES.

It is evident that it can not be *principle*, or *color*, which presents the extensive employment of negroes as soldiers by the South—whatever may be said about the fear of enlisting *slaves*—for their employment, even in small numbers, concedes the case.

And beside this, nothing is better known, as a historical fact, than that negro soldiers have been used in every war in which the United States has hitherto been engaged as a nation—in which, too, the South has joined—and that they have made up a portion of the armies of nearly every nation of Europe. In the war of the Revolution, negroes, both free and slave, were employed by the Colonies of the North and the South in gaining their independence, and by Great Britain upon the other side of the contest. Negroes were also engaged in the American armies in the war with Great Britain, in 1812; and in small numbers, in various capacities, in the several Indian wars in which the United States has been engaged, and in the war with Mexico. And, so far as we are aware, no serious complaint was ever made against this species of soldiers, in any of these wars, on account of *color*. What is true of the army, in this respect, is true of the navy. Negroes have been engaged in both branches of the service as *fighting men*. And what is true of the United States and of Great Britain, is true of nearly all the monarchical governments of Europe and America. Negro soldiers are enrolled in the armies of France, Spain,

Portugal, Denmark, Turkey, Brazil, and those of other countries.*

Now, it is rather a singular phenomenon, with these well-known facts of our own history before us, and with the usages of the civilized world corresponding with these facts, that the chivalrous sons of the South should have discovered, in our present war, the impropriety, in *principle*, of using a man with a black skin as a soldier; of making this the occasion of severe

* The first blood shed in the war of the American Revolution, was that of a negro slave, fighting for American freedom against British tyranny. His name was Crispus Attucks. He was advertised in the *Boston Gazette*, October 2, 1750, as a "runaway slave." He was again advertised on the 13th and 20th of November. The next time his name appeared in a Boston newspaper, he was "a hero and a martyr." The "Boston Massacre," occurring March 5, 1770, has been regarded as "the first act in the drama of the American Revolution." It was then that the first blood was shed in a conflict between British troops and American citizens. "From that moment," said Daniel Webster, "we may date the severance of the British Empire." In this affray, Attucks led the party, and was the first to fall, and with two others, was killed; while two more were mortally wounded. The bodies were taken to Faneuil Hall. The most distinguished citizens followed them to the place of burial, and a monument was erected to their memory, with this inscription:

Long as in Freedom's cause the wise contend,
Dear to your country, shall your fame extend;
While to the world the lettered stone shall tell
Where Caldwell, Attucks, Gray, and Maverick fell.

The anniversary of this event was publicly commemorated in Boston by an oration, each year, until independence was achieved, when the fourth of July was substituted for the fifth of March. At Bunker Hill, negro and white soldiers fought side by side. Bancroft, the historian, speaking of the battle of Bunker Hill, says: "As in the army at Cambridge, so also in this gallant band, the free negroes of the Colony had their representatives. For the right of free negroes to bear arms in the public defense, was, at that day, as little disputed in New England, as their other rights. They took their place, not in a separate corps, but in the ranks of the white man; and their names may be read on the pension rolls of the country, side by side, with those of other soldiers of the Revolution." (*Vol. VII, p. 421*). General Washington wrote to the President of the Continental Congress, under date of Cambridge, December 31, 1775, and speaks thus of negro soldiers: "As it is to be apprehended that they (the negroes) may seek employment in the Ministerial Army, I have presumed to depart from the resolution respecting them, and have given license for their being enlisted. If this is disapproved of by Congress, I will put a stop to it." Congress decided the question thus submitted, by resolution of January 16, 1776, that "the free negroes who have served faithfully in the army at Cambridge, may be re-enlisted therein, but no others." (*Journals of Congress, Vol. II*). Mr. Sparks, in his *Life of Washington*, says: "Many black soldiers

enactments by the rebel Congress against our Government, of making it the theme for abuse by their Congressional orators, and their heated journalists; of the rebel President taking occasion from it to throw a little more of vituperation into his State papers; of discriminating against negroes in the exchange of prisoners of war; of thus presuming, as a "nation," which they call themselves, to dictate to another nation what description of troops they may and may not use in their service; of

were in the service during all stages of the war." The General Assembly of Connecticut, in May, 1777, appointed a committee to consider the condition of slaves in that State. They recommended that they "shall be allowed to enlist" into the army, "and shall thereupon be, *de facto*, free and emancipated." At the next session of the Assembly, October, 1777, "an act was passed which gave direct encouragement to the enlistment of slaves." (*Trumbull*). Most of the Northern States enlisted negroes, free and slave, in the army of the Revolution, providing for the freedom of the latter. Many Southern statesmen encouraged the practice. Says Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, in a letter to General Washington, March 16, 1779: "Had we arms for three thousand such black men as I could select in Carolina, I should have no doubt of success in driving the British out of Georgia, and subduing East Florida before the end of July." (*Sparks*). Congress, urged by Southern men, passed, in 1779, the following: "Resolved, That it be recommended to the States of South Carolina and Georgia, if they shall think the same expedient, to take measures immediately for raising three thousand able-bodied negroes, * * * for the main army, to be commanded by white commissioned and non-commissioned officers;" and they also enacted, "that every negro who shall well and faithfully serve as a soldier to the end of the present war, and shall then return his arms, be emancipated, and receive the sum of fifty dollars." (*Secret Journals of Congress*). Hon. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, in the United States House of Representatives, in 1820, referring to the employment of negroes in the Revolutionary armies, said: "To their hands were owing the erection of the greatest part of the fortifications raised for the protection of our country; some of which, particularly Fort Moultrie, gave, at that early period of the inexperience and untried valor of our citizens, immortality to American arms; and, in the Northern States, numerous bodies of them were enrolled into and fought by the side of the whites, the battles of the Revolution." (*Annals of Congress*). In the war of 1812, negroes, both free and slave, were employed in the army and navy, North and South. New York, in 1814, passed an act to raise "two regiments of men of color," each regiment to "consist of one thousand and eighty able-bodied men." These regiments were raised and formed into a brigade; they received "the same pay, rations, clothing, and allowances," as others of the same grade in the United States Army; and slaves were allowed to enlist, and at the termination of their services were "deemed and adjudged to have been legally manumitted from that time." Many other States made similar provisions for negroes in the armies of 1812. General Jackson called them to his standard when commanding in the South-west. He reviewed a large body of them, December 18, 1814; they took part in defense of New Orleans on the

thus causing the untimely death of thousands of brave men, in prison, starved by themselves; and, as a fitting climax, slaughtering in cold blood negro soldiers, and their white officers, who have fallen into their hands as prisoners; and, moreover, "capping the climax" of these atrocities, in the well-known fact of having themselves employed negro soldiers on their side of the contest from the beginning!

23d of that month; and helped to secure his victory over Packenham, on the 8th of January, 1815. In the navy, also, negroes were employed. In McKenzie's Life of Commodore Perry, it is said: "In 1814, our fleet sailed to the Upper Lakes, to co-operate with Colonel Croghan, at Mackinac. About one in ten or twelve of the crews were blacks." Dr. Usher Parsons says: "I was Surgeon of the *Java*, under Commodore Perry. The white and colored seamen messed together. About one in six or eight were colored. In 1819, I was Surgeon of the *Guerrière*, under Commodore Macdonough; and the proportion of blacks was about the same in her crew. * * * What I have said applied to the crews of the other ships that sailed in squadrons." Commodore Chauncey, in a letter to Perry, says: "I have nearly fifty blacks on board of this ship, and many of them are among my best men." (*Life of Perry*). In all our later wars, negroes have formed a part of the forces employed.

What has thus been true of the United States, in all her wars, is true of all the leading nations of the world. The following facts are taken from a paper prepared by the Librarian of the New York State Library, and read by the Hon. Charles B. Sedgwick, in the House of Representatives of the United States: "The monarchical governments of Europe and America—those that tolerate slavery, and those that do not—alike agree in employing negroes, armed for the public defense. Thus we find, that in the Spanish colony of Cuba, with a population one-half slaves and one-sixth colored, a militia of free blacks and mulattoes was directed by General Pezuela (Governor General) to be organized, in 1854, throughout the island; and it was put upon an equal footing, with regard to privilege, with the regular army. The black and mulatto troops have been made a permanent corps of the Spanish army. In the Portuguese colonies, on the coast of Africa, the regiments are chiefly composed of black men. At Prince's Island is a regiment of black militia; at St. Thomas's are two black regiments. In Lonando, the Portuguese can muster twenty-five thousand blacks, armed with muskets. In the Dutch colony of the Gold Coast of Africa, the garrison consists of whites, mulattoes, and blacks, under a Dutch commander. In the capital of the French colony of Senegal, at St. Louis, white and black soldiers are employed. In the Danish island of St. Croix, in the West Indies, for more than twenty-five years past, there have been employed two corps of colored soldiers, in the presence of slaves. Brazil, with three million slaves, employs all colors and races in its military and naval service. The police of Rio de Janeiro is a military organization, composed mostly of blacks. The course pursued by the British Government, in Jamaica, Sierra Leone, and Hindostan, is so notorious, as simply to need to be mentioned. In Turkey, no distinction of color or race is made in the ranks of the regular army. Distinction is made, however, on the ground of difference of faith. The army is composed of Mohammedans. Christians and Jews are never recruited.

Can any honest mind ponder the facts which are so well known to the world, and believe that these things could be done and justified among any other people in the same stage of enlightenment, than those inhabiting the Southern portion of the United States, engaged in *the work of rebellion* against lawful government, and *in the cause* for which it is undertaken?

CRUELITIES TO NEGRO TROOPS AND THEIR OFFICERS.

The ill treatment of negro soldiers and their commanders is a part of the *system* of warfare which the South is carrying on. It is not the general in the field, nor the subordinate officer, nor the rank and file of the army, that is alone responsible for the cruelties inflicted. The military officers are sustained by their President. Their Congress, in its early legislation, passed acts ignoring negroes in our armies as soldiers, and declaring what treatment they might expect, if captured; that they would be sold into slavery, and that their white officers would be handed over to the civil authorities of the respective States in which they might be taken, to be dealt with according to the laws thereof—or, in more specific English, to suffer death.

This act was so worded, that it included in its terms all negroes, whether enlisted as freemen, or recruited as slaves in any of the districts which the Union armies should occupy. After the adjournment of their Congress, and the act had been canvassed by the nations of the world, some of the Southern journals advised a modification when the Congress should reassemble. The Richmond papers discussed the laws of nations; quoted Vattel and Puffendorf; and generally agreed—though some of them were not so scrupulous—that the law should only take cognizance of that portion of our negro soldiers who were recruited from slaves; that, to treat negro soldiers who were free, in a different manner from other prisoners of war, was clearly unauthorized, as it was equivalent to declaring what kind of troops we should employ.

It was really believed from this that a sense of justice, on at least one plain point, was returning to a people who had given so many evidences of disregard of it. This opinion was aided by certain official manifestations. On the assembling of their Congress in December, 1863, some movement was made for the modification of this law. But while the improved legislation

makes a better appearance upon the statute book, the subsequent and constantly recurring facts make all the worse figure upon the page of history. We are now convinced that all the learned dissertations of the Richmond papers, and their confessions of error in the early enactment, and all the bluster and apparent willingness to make reparation for an alleged oversight, as manifested in the discussions of the rebel Congress, were just so much hypocritical rhetoric—and nothing more. The continued inhuman treatment of the negro soldiers of the Union armies, furnishes the incontrovertible evidence. If they have more recently mended their ways, it is owing to such retaliatory measures as were adopted by General Butler in digging the Dutch Gap canal.

The Richmond editors made a virtue of candor in admitting the error of their earlier legislation, and they urged a change in the law. Afterward they rejoiced in and called upon their troops to "repeat" the butcheries of Fort Pillow, where were slaughtered several hundred men, women and children, because they were black, some of whom were free and always had been free; and they applauded the butchery in cold blood of white men who commanded these troops. If their law was really modified, these subsequent barbarities reveal the soulless regard the rebel authorities have for their own enactments, and the fiendish cruelty of their innate disposition which breaks through such barriers. If it was not modified, their acknowledgment of their error shows their wholesome fear of the scorn of the world, which, however, their eager thirst for innocent blood so soon overcame. But in either event, their hatred, barbarity, and most atrocious cruelty, in thus setting aside the usages of war, shows too plainly what nothing short of such a rebellion, for such a purpose, could show—that enlightened men, "chivalric" men, Christian men, may be transformed into demons, when their hearts are thoroughly enlisted, by means of treason, rebellion, and war, "to conserve and to perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery."

A CHARACTERISTIC EXAMPLE—BURIAL OF A HERO.

The special manner of the treatment of officers commanding negro troops, in numerous instances, when they have been killed in battle, reveals the refinement of rebel barbarity. One

case out of many will illustrate this. Colonel Robert Gould Shaw led the Fifty-fourth Colored Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers in the attack on Fort Wagner, in Charleston harbor. This was one of the earliest negro regiments organized for the war. It was enrolled at a time when this branch of the service had not attained a high degree of public favor. Few men of standing were eager to take command of negro troops. When Governor Andrew called for a commander of this regiment, Colonel Shaw tendered his services. He at once gave character to the position. He was a young man of noble mien, in the prime of early manhood, from one of the families of Boston of the highest position, for wealth, refinement, and social standing, highly educated and accomplished, and with every thing before him in life which gave promise of a bright future.

In the assault upon that fort, in the harbor where foul treason fired the first gun upon the national flag, Colonel Shaw fell upon the ramparts, at the head of his regiment, bravely leading them, though it was but to the slaughter, against an iron hail which would have stricken terror into the heart of any but the true soldier. Since the war began, heroism has not made a costlier sacrifice, nor has treason claimed a nobler victim.

It would seem that had not all honor, all humanity—all decency—died out of rebel bosoms, they would at least have given the body of the brave officer an honorable burial. The dead hero could harm them no more. But no. They must heap all possible indignity upon a lifeless body which had fallen into their hands by the fortunes of war. They dig a shallow trench, throw in the body, face downward, and then throw in upon it the bodies of some of the brave men of his regiment who had fallen with him, and give them a shallow covering of earth. The occurrence forms the theme of social converse and exultation in the polite circles of Charleston. The papers of the city approved all that was done; "he died a dog's death, and received a dog's burial."

Such is the spirit of the rebellion in the place where "chivalry" resides, and where treason was born. It may be, that the sons and daughters of the South who applaud such deeds, think that they will inspire a wholesome fear in North-

ern bosoms; and possibly, that the circumstances of this case may have carried a keener pang to loving hearts in the home of Colonel Shaw. Let them learn a lesson in human nature to which they may be strangers, and if they fail to appreciate the true nobility of the sentiment, we can only the more pity them for the deep imbrutement which the system of negro slavery has wrought in their souls. When the father of Colonel Shaw heard of the death and burial of his son, he said, "He could not have died in a nobler cause, and he would not have had him buried by their hands in any other manner!" As for the influence which such brutalities exert upon the minds of the loyal people generally, they only serve to nerve them to a higher determination to crush the rebellion completely, and to purge out of the body politic forever that element of our public life, to perpetuate and extend which such scenes are enacted.

SYSTEMATIC STARVATION OF PRISONERS OF WAR.

The Spanish Inquisition reduced cruelty to a system, in the pretended interest of religion; the rebel authorities at Richmond have improved upon it, for purposes of State.

According to our reading, and we have read not a little on the subject, after passing by the technicalities, the errors of estimation, the construction of the cartel, and the bad temper of the commissioners, the difficulty which has always lain at the bottom of carrying out a system of exchange of prisoners of war, has been the persistent refusal of the rebel authorities to recognize negroes, employed in the Union army, as *soldiers*. Not being soldiers, they could not be regarded as entitled to be exchanged as *prisoners* of war. For this position, we have already seen that they had not a particle of authority, either in public law or the usages of nations. We therefore dismiss the point.

It now appears, from testimony which is as incontestible as any which was ever produced for any cause, that there was a wonderful method in this madness, all the while. The negro in our armies has been of great service to them; it has enabled them, under this and other pretexts, to starve our brave soldiers to death, and to reduce others to a state of living death, in the hope of depleting our forces.

The proof of this is found, first, in the actual condition of

the prisoners when exchanged, with the attendant circumstances, especially in the case of those from the prisons at Richmond, under the eye of the central authorities, and where the largest numbers have always, until a recent period, been congregated; and secondly, in the absence of any other assignable motive, and with the highest moral certainty that such must have been the object, as seen in the condition of the soldiers, and in the well-assured facts which attend and which have produced it. The sources of the evidence, on both points, are: the testimony of the prisoners, surgeons, and others, taken by the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and taken also in behalf of the United States Sanitary Commission; the corroboration furnished by other witnesses, both among Union men and rebels; and the admissions of the Southern press and authorities.

The Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War presents the following view of the case, as *one* among their several investigations, as read in the United States Senate, May 9, 1864. It exhibits the condition of the prisoners, then recently returned from Richmond, as seen by them in the hospitals at Annapolis and Baltimore, the special attention of the Committee having been directed to the case by the War Department. We give a few sentences:

The evidence proved, beyond all manner of doubt, a determination on the part of the rebel authorities, deliberately and persistently practiced for a long time past, to subject those of our soldiers who have been so unfortunate as to fall into their hands, to a *system* of treatment which has resulted in reducing many of those who have survived and been permitted to return to us, to a condition, both physically and mentally, which no language we can use can adequately describe. Though nearly all the patients now in the Naval Academy Hospital at Annapolis, and in the West Hospital at Baltimore, have been under the kindest and most intelligent treatment for about three weeks past, and many of them for a greater length of time, still they present literally the appearance of living skeletons—many of them being nothing but skin and bone. Some of them are *maimed for life*, from being exposed to the inclemency of the winter season on Belle Isle—*being compelled to lie upon the bare ground, without tents or blankets*—some of them without overcoats, or even coats, with but little fire to mitigate the severity of the wind and storms to which they were exposed. The testimony shows that the *general practice of their captors was to rob them*, as soon as they were taken prisoners, of all their money, valuables, blankets, and good

clothing, for which they received nothing in exchange, except, perhaps, some old worn-out rebel clothing, hardly better than none at all. Upon their arrival at Richmond, they have been confined, without blankets or covering, in buildings without fire; or upon Belle Isle, in many cases with no shelter, and in others with nothing but discarded army tents, so injured by rents and holes as to present but little barrier to the wind and storms. On several occasions, the witnesses say, they have risen in the morning from their resting-places upon the bare earth, *and found several of their comrades frozen to death through the night*; and that many others would have met the same fate had they not walked rapidly back and forth through the hours which should have been devoted to sleep, for the purpose of retaining sufficient warmth to preserve life. * * * Many of our men were compelled to sell to their guards and others, for what price they could get, such clothing and blankets as they were permitted to receive and have furnished for their use by our Government, *in order to obtain sufficient food to sustain life*; thus, by endeavoring to avoid one privation, reducing themselves to the same destitute condition, in respect to clothing and covering, as they were in before they received any from our Government. When they became diseased and sick, * * * their diseases and wounds did not receive the treatment which the commonest dictates of humanity would have prompted. One witness, whom your Committee examined, who had lost all the toes of one foot, through being frozen on Belle Isle, states that for days at a time his wounds were not dressed, and that they had not been dressed for four days when he was taken from the hospital and carried on the flag-of-truce boat for Fortress Monroe. * * * In addition to this insufficient supply of food, clothing, and shelter, our soldiers, while prisoners, have been subjected to the most cruel treatment from those placed over them. They have been abused and shamefully treated on almost every opportunity. *Many have been mercilessly shot and killed when they failed to comply with all the demands of their jailors; sometimes for violating rules of which they had not been informed.* Crowded in great numbers in buildings, they have been fired at and killed by the sentinels outside, when they appeared at the windows for the purpose of obtaining a little fresh air. One man, whose comrade in the service and in captivity had been so fortunate as to be among those released from further torments, *was shot dead as he was waving with his hand a last adieu to his friend.* Other instances of equally unprovoked murder are disclosed by the testimony. The condition of our returned soldiers as regards personal cleanliness, has been filthy almost beyond description. * * * Many who have been sick and in the hospital, have had no opportunity to wash their bodies for weeks and months before they were released from captivity.

Your Committee are unable to convey any adequate idea of the sad and deplorable condition of the men they saw in the hospitals they visited; and the testimony they have taken can not convey to the reader the impressions which your Committee there received. The prisoners we saw, as we were assured by those in charge of them, have greatly improved since they have been received in the hospitals; yet they are now dying daily. * * * All those whom your Committee examined, stated that they have been thus reduced and emaciated entirely in consequence of the merciless treatment they received while prisoners, from their enemies. Physicians in charge of them—the men best fitted by their profession and experience to express an opinion on the subject—all say that they have no doubt the statements of their patients are entirely correct. It will be observed, from the testimony, that all the witnesses who testified upon that point, state that the treatment they received while confined at Columbia, South Carolina, Dalton, Georgia, and other places, was far more humane than that they received at Richmond, where the authorities of the so-called Confederacy were congregated, and where the power existed, had the inclination not been wanting, to reform these abuses, and secure to the prisoners they held some treatment that would bear a feeble comparison to that accorded by our authorities to the prisoners in our custody. Your Committee, therefore, are constrained to say that they can hardly avoid the conclusion expressed by so many of our released soldiers, that the inhuman practices herein referred to, *are the result of a determination on the part of the rebel authorities, to reduce our soldiers in their power by privation of food and clothing, and by exposure, to such a condition, that those who may survive shall never recover so as to be able to enter into effectual service in the field*; and your Committee accordingly ask that this Report, with the accompanying testimony, be printed, with the Report and testimony in relation to the massacre at Fort Pillow—the one being, in their opinion, *no less than the other, the result of a predetermined policy*. As regards the assertions of some of the rebel newspapers, that our prisoners have received at their hands the same treatment that their own soldiers in the field have received, they are evidently but the most glaring and unblushing falsehoods. No one can, for a moment, be deceived by such statements, who will reflect that our soldiers, who, when taken prisoners, *have been stout, healthy men, in the prime and vigor of life, yet have died by hundreds under the treatment they have received*, although required to perform no duties of the camp or the march; while the rebel soldiers are able to make long and rapid marches, and to offer a stubborn resistance in the field. There is one feature connected with this investigation to which your Committee can refer with pride and satisfaction—that is, the uncomplaining fortitude, the undi-

minished patriotism, exhibited by our brave men, under all their privations, even in the hour of death.*

The Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War respecting the condition of the returned Union prisoners, with the accompanying testimony, is a valuable document for the historian and for posterity. This testimony, however, was not essential to convince the present generation of the truth of these rebel barbarities. The *condition* of these prisoners, had they uttered not a word, would have been enough. Every one who has seen them is convinced of all the Committee have said; and even more. To many observers—and they have been visited by great numbers, of the highest respectability—their *mental* condition, in numerous instances, is the most harrowing feature of their case. Some were not able to tell to what regiment they belonged, where they lived, or any thing about their friends or their homes; while others had been made wholly and hopelessly insane.

REBEL CONFIRMATION OF THEIR OWN CRUELTY.

All their sufferings, both in nature and extent, have been fully substantiated by what the Richmond papers have frequently stated. At first, they denied that there was any destitution, in quality or quantity, of food, clothing, or shelter, for

* The *Baltimore American*, of April 29, 1864, has the following editorial: "THE RETURNED PRISONERS.—In the distribution of the five hundred and sixty-five released prisoners recently arrived from Richmond, one hundred and four of the most enfeebled and helpless were sent to the Army Hospital, West's Buildings. *Of this number, thirty-three have since died*, as we learn by the report, up to yesterday noon. Thirty-three deaths in a period of less than ten days! Thirty-three out of one hundred and four! Such a per centage of mortality is frightful. And this, too, in spite of the utmost efforts of human skill, of untiring and unremitted devotion to duty on the part of the medical officers, of faithful and well-directed labor on the part of the nurses, and of the most assiduous attention on the part of the ladies of Baltimore. All that could fan the flickering flame of life into a brighter glow was done by these ministers of humanity. The soothing voice of kindness, the rallying stimulant, the tempting delicacy, were all tried in vain. The vital force was expended, the wheels would no longer remove in the face of a consuming friction, and the lamp of life burned to ashes. We suppose the undertaker's certificate read: Died of debility, or exhaustion, or atrophy, or marasmus, or some kindred term; but on the page of history, and in the book of God's righteous retribution, the 'crown's quest' will declare: *Died of slow starvation, at the hands of blood-thirsty assassins.*"

them; declared that they were in every respect well cared for; then they admitted that there was a scarcity of provisions for them, justifying the want on the ground of a scarcity in the Richmond markets; saying that *the people* must be fed if the *prisoners starved*, and that such a doom for the "Yankee hirelings" was but just. Then again, they insisted that they were as well provided for as their own soldiers, that they had precisely the same rations, and that this was all that could be demanded by the usages of war; the pure falsity of which, as to food furnished, the Committee conclusively meet by the statement, that while our robust prisoners have *perished* in their hands in great numbers, their soldiers are able to endure all the hardships of the camp, and to *fight valiantly*, immediately on being exchanged!

Whatever may be said, with truth, about the cruelties on either side displayed in this war, and whatever charges the rebels may have brought against the United States authorities, civil or military, there is nothing which furnishes a counterpart to this treatment of Union *prisoners*. The most mendacious of rebel writers has not ventured even the *charge* that the Government has systematically, and by wholesale, starved to death rebel prisoners. Those who have fallen into the hands of the Union authorities have been fed, clad, sheltered, and nursed and furnished medical aid when sick and wounded, in a manner to remove all just grounds of complaint; while rebel brutalities practiced upon Union prisoners have been entered upon deliberately and prosecuted persistently, under the very eye of the Richmond rebels in chief, and resulting in a wholesale destruction of life, and maiming others for life. These things are *directly charged*; they have been *conclusively proven*, by an amount of testimony, in character definite and circumstantial, which would compel a verdict from any panel that ever entered a jury box.

But putting the very best face upon the case which the rebels have made for themselves, and admitting its perfect truth—that such was the scarcity that *they did the best they could* to provide food for Union prisoners—still they were not justified by the law of nations, and the usages of war, in *holding them an hour*, when, in spite of their efforts, and as an inevitable result of their treatment, hundreds were dying upon

their hands, and other hundreds were doomed to a life worse than death. Vattel says:

Formerly, a question of an embarrassing nature might have been proposed. When we have so great a number of prisoners that we find it *impossible to feed them*, or to keep them with safety, have we a right to put them to death? or shall we send them back to the enemy, thus increasing his strength, and exposing ourselves to the hazard of being overpowered by him on a subsequent occasion? At present the case is attended with no difficulty. *Such prisoners are dismissed on their parole*—bound by promise not to carry arms for a certain time, or during the continuance of the war.

This, then, is the *law* of the case. If the *facts* were as they allege, the course of justice and of decency was plain. But the rebel authorities disregarded both.

CONFIRMED BY THE REBEL PRESIDENT.

The hypocrisy and falsehood of the rebel press, concerning the treatment of Union prisoners of war, are exceeded by the official statements of Jefferson Davis. On the 3d of May, 1864, he delivered his message to the Rebel Congress, in which he says:

On the subject of the exchange of prisoners, I greatly regret to be unable to give you satisfactory information. The Government of the United States, while persisting in failure to execute the terms of the cartel, make occasional deliveries of prisoners, and then suspend action without apparent cause. I confess my inability to comprehend their policy or purpose. *The prisoners held by us, in spite of humane care, are perishing from the inevitable effects of imprisonment, and the home-sickness produced by the hopelessness of release from confinement.* The spectacle of their suffering augments our longing desire to relieve from similar trials our own brave men, who have spent so many weary months in a cruel and useless imprisonment, endured with heroic constancy.

Here is an admission of one stern fact—the “perishing” of our prisoners in his hands; and of the cause of it—“the inevitable effects of imprisonment.” Let that record be noted. It was too much to deny that, in the face of the world. But his soul is stained with the guilt of declaring that this was “in spite of humane care.” No such care was bestowed; and the rebel chief ought to have known it well. But it is, if pos-

sible, a grosser libel to intimate that rebel prisoners are subjected by our Government to "similar trials." A more glaring untruth never came from official pen. No such truthful record, concerning *rebel* prisoners, will ever meet the eye of the world, as that put forth by the Congressional Committee concerning Union prisoners in the cells of Richmond, near by where the Arch Traitor holds his ephemeral power.

Mr. Davis would have the world believe that he weeps over the "home-sickness" of the heroes who are "perishing" in his loathsome dungeons, "from the inevitable effects" of systematic starvation. This almost surpasses the kind-heartedness of the leaders in the atrocities of the French Revolution. Robespierre is described as one of the most tender-hearted of men; and who shall doubt that the rebel chief at Richmond may be a man after his own heart? Without doubt, our soldiers in Libby Prison, and upon Belle Isle, love their homes, and long for them—at least, such of them as have not become so demented by these rebel cruelties, that they can not tell where their homes are, or whether they have any—but this is the first time, in all our reading, that we have met with the phenomenon, officially set forth too, that men of robust frames and heroic wills, even when for a few months in prison, but enjoying "humane care," have been swept into the grave by a "home-sickness" more fatal than the plague! Can rebel insolence in official robes rise to a higher pitch! We wonder if rebel surgeons in charge ever gave a certificate running like this: "Died of home-sickness." The true certificate would be that furnished by the *Baltimore American*, and which covers all these cases: "Died of slow starvation from the hands of blood-thirsty assassins."

MASSACRES AT FORT PILLOW AND PLYMOUTH.

It may be that the treatment of our heroic prisoners can not be exceeded in atrocity, by any thing which the rebels have done since the beginning of the war. It was cool, deliberate, systematized murder, by the most loathsome and painful means, on a large scale, extending through wearisome months, and for a most contemptible purpose; palliated on false pretexts, justified as righteous, and hypocritically mourned over from the throne of treason.

But in the massacre at Fort Pillow and Plymouth, occurring near the same time, the one in West Tennessee, and the other in Eastern North Carolina, there was something which struck the public mind with a deeper thrill of horror. The suddenness and extent, reaching to hundreds butchered in cold blood; embracing those in the army and out of it, men, women, and children, white and black; including soldiers who had enlisted under the flag of their country from the seceded States, thus revealing the rebel vengeance in store for all such, and for that reason; the subsequent approval by the rebel authorities, and the bold justification by the rebel press, with the call on their soldiers to "Repeat Fort Pillow," and "Repeat Plymouth;" together with the sanction tacitly given by Mr. Davis in his message to their Congress; all this, perhaps, gives these massacres, *as yet*, the highest place in the list of rebel fiendishness which the world has witnessed since the beginning of the war.

Let us first hear the Committee on the Conduct of the War, their investigations being confined, so far as we quote from them, chiefly to Fort Pillow. Their Report was made to both Houses of Congress, May 5, 1864. It is a long document. We select a few sentences, as follows:

It will appear, from the testimony thus taken, that the atrocities committed at Fort Pillow were not the result of passions excited by the heat of conflict, *but were results of a policy deliberately decided upon, and unhesitatingly announced.* Even if the uncertainty of the fate of those officers and men belonging to colored regiments who have heretofore been taken prisoners by the rebels, has failed to convince the authorities of our Government of this fact, the testimony herewith submitted must convince even the most skeptical that it is the intention of the rebel authorities not to recognize the officers and men of our colored regiments as entitled to the treatment accorded by all civilized nations to prisoners of war. The declarations of Forrest and his officers, both before and after the capture of Fort Pillow, as testified to by such of our men as have escaped after being taken by him; the threats contained in the various demands for surrender made at Paducah, Columbus, and other places; *the renewal of the massacre the morning after the capture of Fort Pillow*; the statements made by the rebel officers to the officers of our gunboats who received the few survivors at Fort Pillow; all this proves most conclusively the policy they have determined to adopt. * * *

Forrest then demanded an unconditional surrender (of Paducah), closing his communication to Colonel Hicks in these words: "If you surrender, you shall be treated as prisoners of war. But if I have to storm your works, *you may expect no quarter.*" This demand and threat were met by a refusal on the part of Colonel Hicks to surrender, he stating that he had been placed there by his Government to defend that post, and he should do so. * * * General Buford appeared before Columbus, Kentucky, and demanded its unconditional surrender. He coupled with that demand a threat that if the place was not surrendered, and he should be compelled to attack it, "*no quarter whatever should be shown to negro troops.*" To this, Colonel Lawrence, in command of the fort, replied, that "surrender was out of the question." * * * It was at Fort Pillow, however, that the brutality and cruelty of the rebels were most fearfully exhibited. The garrison there, according to the last returns received at headquarters, amounted to nineteen officers and five hundred and thirty-eight enlisted men, of whom two hundred and sixty-two men were colored troops, comprising one battalion of the Sixth United States heavy artillery, (formerly the First Alabama artillery,) of colored troops, under command of Major J. W. Booth; one section of the Second United States light artillery, colored; and one battalion of the Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry, white, commanded by Major W. F. Bradford. Major Booth was the ranking officer, and was in command of the fort. The Report details several attacks, which were repulsed, in which Major Booth was killed, and then proceeds: "The rebels having thus far failed in their attack, now resorted to their customary flags of truce. * * * *During the time these flags of truce were flying, the rebels were moving down the ravines and taking positions from which the more readily to charge upon the fort. Parties of them were also engaged in plundering the Government buildings and commissary and quartermaster's stores in full view of the gunboat.* Captain Marshall states that he refrained from firing upon the rebels, although they were thus violating the flag of truce, for fear that, should they finally succeed in capturing the fort, they would justify any atrocities they might commit by saying that they were in retaliation for his firing while the flag of truce was flying. * * * Immediately after the second flag of truce retired, the rebels made a rush from the positions they had so treacherously gained, and obtained possession of the fort, raising the cry of 'no quarter.' But little opportunity was allowed for resistance. *Our troops, black and white, threw down their arms, and sought to escape by running down the steep bluff near the fort, and secreting themselves behind trees and logs, in the bushes, and under the brush, some even jumping into the river, leaving only their heads above the water, as they crouched down under the bank.* Then followed a scene of cruelty and

murder without parallel in civilized warfare, which needed but the tomahawk and scalping-knife to exceed the worst atrocities ever committed by savages. *The rebels commenced an indiscriminate slaughter, sparing neither age nor sex, white or black, soldier or civilian. The officers and men seemed to vie with each other in the devilish work. Men and women, and even children, wherever found, were deliberately shot down, beaten, and hacked with sabers. SOME OF THE CHILDREN, NOT MORE THAN TEN YEARS OLD, WERE FORCED TO STAND UP AND FACE THEIR MURDERERS WHILE BEING SHOT. The sick and wounded were butchered without mercy, the rebels even entering the hospital building and DRAGGING THEM OUT TO BE SHOT, OR KILLING THEM AS THEY LAY THERE UNABLE TO OFFER THE LEAST RESISTANCE.* All over the hill-side the work of murder was going on. Numbers of our men were collected together in lines or groups and deliberately shot. Some were shot while in the river, while others on the bank were shot and their bodies kicked into the water, many of them still living, but unable to make any exertions to save themselves from drowning. *Some of the rebels stood upon the top of the hill, or a short distance down its side, and called to our soldiers to come up to them, and as they approached shot them down in cold blood; if their guns or pistols missed fire, forcing them to stand there until they were again prepared to fire.* All around were heard cries of 'no quarter, no quarter; kill the damned niggers; shoot them down.' All who asked for mercy were answered by the most cruel taunts and sneers. Some were spared for a time, only to be murdered under circumstances of greater cruelty. No cruelty which the most fiendish malignity could devise was omitted by these murderers. *One white soldier who was wounded in one leg so as to be unable to walk, was made to stand up while his tormentors shot him. Others, who were wounded and unable to stand up, were held up and again shot. One negro, who had been ordered by a rebel officer to hold his horse, was killed by him when he remonstrated. Another, a mere child, whom an officer had taken up behind him on his horse, was seen by General Chalmers, who at once ordered the officer to put him down and shoot him, which was done.* The huts and tents in which many of the wounded had sought shelter were set on fire, both that night and the next morning, *while the wounded were still in them; those only escaping who were able to get themselves out, or who could prevail on others less injured than themselves to help them out, and even some of these thus seeking to escape the flames were met by these ruffians and brutally shot down, or had their brains beaten out. One man was deliberately fastened down to the floor of a tent, face upward, by means of nails driven through his clothing and into the boards under him, so that he could not possibly escape, and then the tent set on fire; another was nailed to the side of a building outside of the fort,*

and then the building set on fire and burned. The charred remains of five or six bodies were afterward found, all but one so much disfigured and consumed by the flames that they could not be identified, and the identification of that one is not absolutely certain, although there can hardly be a doubt that it was the body of Lieutenant Akerstoom, Quartermaster of the Thirteenth Virginia Cavalry, and a native Tennessean. Several witnesses who saw the remains, and who were personally acquainted with him while living, have testified that it is their firm belief that it was his body that was thus treated. These deeds of murder and cruelty closed when night came on, only to be renewed the next morning, when the demons carefully sought among the dead lying about in all directions for any other wounded yet alive, and those they found were deliberately shot.

* * * We (the Committee) found the evidences of this murder and cruelty still, most painfully. * * * Although a great deal of rain had fallen within the preceding two weeks, (previous to the Committee's visit) the ground, more especially on the side and at the foot of the bluff, where most of the murders had been committed, was still discolored by the blood of our brave but unfortunate men, and the logs and trees showed but too plainly the evidences of the atrocities perpetrated there. * *

* How many of our troops thus fell victims to the malignity and barbarity of Forrest and his followers, can not yet be definitely ascertained. Two officers belonging to the garrison were absent at the time of the capture and massacre. Of the remaining officers but two are known to be living, and they are wounded, and now in the hospital at Mound City; one of them, Captain Porter, may even now be dead, as the surgeon, when your Committee were there, expressed no hope of his recovery. In reference to the fate of Major Bradford, who was in command of the fort when it was captured, and who had up to that time received no injury, there seems to be no doubt. The general understanding seems to be that he had been brutally murdered the day after he was taken prisoner. *Of the men, from three hundred to four hundred are known to have been killed at Fort Pillow, OF WHOM AT LEAST THREE HUNDRED WERE MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD after the fort was in possession of the rebels, and our men had thrown down their arms and ceased to offer resistance. Of the survivors, except the wounded in the hospital at Mound City, and the few who succeeded in making their escape unhurt, nothing definite is known, and it is to be feared that many have been murdered after being taken away from the fort. When your Committee arrived at Memphis, Tennessee, they found and examined a man, Mr. McLagan, who had been conscripted by some of Forrest's forces, but who, with other conscripts, had succeeded in making his escape. He testifies that while two companies of rebel troops, with Major Bradford and many other prisoners, were on the march from Brownsville to Jackson, Tennessee, Major Brad-*

ford was taken by five rebels, one an officer, led about fifty yards from the line of march, and deliberately murdered, in view of all there assembled. He fell, killed instantly by three musket balls, even while asking that his life might be spared, as he had fought them manfully and was deserving of a better fate. *The motive for the murder of Major Bradford seems to have been the simple fact, that, although a native of the South, he remained loyal to his Government.* The testimony herewith submitted, contains many statements made by the rebels, *that they did not intend to treat 'home-made Yankees,' as they termed loyal Southerners, any better than negro troops."*

THE REBEL PRESS AND MR. DAVIS UPON THESE MASSACRES.

When these atrocities became known at Richmond, a portion of the rebel press, apparently receiving their first news of them through the Northern papers, affected to disbelieve them.* Soon afterward, the worst was confirmed by correspondents of the Southern papers who were with the rebel army that committed them.† Another portion of the press at the rebel cap-

* The Richmond *Enquirer*, of April 30th, says: "The latest United States papers contain the very violent indignation of the Yankees over the *alleged* Fort Pillow 'massacre.'" It also speaks of it as "the 'so-called' massacre at Fort Pillow;" and says: "In this light it will be understood and appreciated as merely another falsehood." Again, it says: "The officer who is charged with the 'so-called' massacre, General Chalmers, was entertained by some Union officers on board the steamer *Platte Valley*. This does not look as if there had been any 'massacre.'" Again: "We have seen no evidence of any 'massacre' whatever."

† The Mobile *Advertiser* has an account of the capture of Fort Pillow, furnished by one of Forrest's men, the General in immediate command of the attacking party. It corroborates the statements of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, as will be seen by a sentence or two: "For ten minutes, death reigned on the fortification and along the river bank. Our troops, maddened by the excitement, shot down the retreating Yankees, and not until they had attained the water's edge and turned to beg for mercy, did any prisoners fall into our hands. Thus the whites received quarter, but the negroes were shown no mercy. * * * Our loss is trifling, not exceeding twelve killed, while the enemy's killed amounted to four hundred, most of them negroes." As further confirmation, a correspondent of the *Appeal* (formerly published at Memphis), writing from Okalona, Mississippi, says: "You have heard that our soldiers buried negroes alive at Fort Pillow. This is true. At the first fire after Forrest's men scaled the walls, many of the negroes threw down their arms and fell as if they were dead. They perished in the pretense, and could only be restored at the point of the bayonet. To resuscitate some of them, more terrified than the rest, they were rolled into the trenches made as receptacles for the fallen. Vitality was not restored till breathing was obstructed, and then the resurrection began."

ital, two days earlier and therefore more candid than their cotemporaries that had denied them, substantially admits that these barbarities were in *the line of the determined "policy"* of the rebel Government. It cordially *approves* of them, and calls upon their armies to "repeat" them. All this fully warrants and sustains the Committee on the Conduct of the War in declaring that such inhumanities were but the carrying out of a *predetermined plan* adopted by the Arch Traitors at Richmond.*

Mr. Davis, in his message to his Congress, on the 3d of May, recounts the successes of his troops in the West, on Red river, in Louisiana, and in Kentucky and West Tennessee. He thus explicitly refers to the scene of Forrest's operations and to his murderous exploits at Paducah, Columbus, and Fort Pillow; regarding the latter, especially, as the "victory" on which he congratulates the Congress and the army, for at Paducah Forrest was repulsed and from it he retreated, and upon Columbus he made no attack, although at both places he demanded a surrender of the forts, and threatened, in case of refusal, to show "no quarter." The rebel President thus indorses the Fort Pillow massacre; tacitly, yet none the less really. He calls upon the rebel Congress and the people to rejoice with him over a "victory," which was gained by treachery and followed by a fiendishness which throws the Sepoys at Lucknow into the shade forever; for the atrocities at Fort Pillow were committed by and in the name

* The Richmond Examiner, of April 28th, when speaking of President Lincoln's remarks at the Baltimore Fair, that "retaliation" would be resorted to, says: "The Confederates have succeeded in establishing a raw, 'raw,' 'raw,' on his callous hide. * * * Why does it suddenly become too serious, too cruel? *Simply because we have shown that we, AS A PEOPLE, are heartily tired of a policy, dictated partly by sentimentality, partly by foolish deference to the good opinion of the world, partly by an official awe at Washington; a policy to which we have sacrificed too long the lives of our brave soldiers and our solemn sense of duty.*" Referring again to Mr. Lincoln's remark, that "retribution shall come," the Examiner further says: "And these brave words may mean something, IF WE RECEDE FROM OUR POSITION. They may mean something, if the fortune of war or the mismanagement of our military leaders should give the Yankees an overwhelming advantage in prisoners. REPEAT FORT PILLOW, REPEAT PLYMOUTH, a few times, and we shall bring the Yankees to their senses, and, what is even better, *our government will rise to a proper sense of its position as an organ of a nation, and no longer act as if it were the junta of a set of revolted provinces.*"

of a people *claiming* to stand at the highest point of civilization and refinement, the very soul of chivalry and honor; and they were committed upon defenseless men, women, and children, in large part because they were a degraded and an oppressed race to whom the Creator of all had given a black akin! And the people, at the official call, "rejoiced with exceeding great joy." Well—let the record stand; they have written it for themselves, before the eyes of all men.

THE MASSACRES JUSTIFIED—LAW OF NATIONS.

For all acts, men have a reason. The Southern press justify the massacres at Plymouth and Fort Pillow, by appealing to the law of nations and the usages of war.*

Here, it will be perceived, is another Southern testimony to the massacre; an open and public admission of the fundamental proposition on which the Committee on the Conduct of the War furnish the harrowing details. As the object of the *Daily News* is to show the ground of justification, the *fact* of the indiscriminate "slaughter" is only mentioned incidentally; but the admission is full, and without abatement, while the justification goes to the extent of putting to the sword the *whole* of "the mongrel garrison."

The Southern papers are not quite agreed upon what the law

* The Savannah (Georgia) *Daily News*, of April 25th, in an article entitled, "Old Abe' on Retaliation," says: "According to the telegraphic report, Old Abe threatens retaliation for the slaughter of his white and black troops at the capture of Fort Pillow. He will hardly retaliate by executing prisoners in his hands; and if he waits until he captures a Confederate garrison by assault, he will find that retaliation in that case is a game that both sides can play at. According to the usage of war, when a garrison refuses, upon summons, to surrender, and forces on the investing force the necessity of an assault, they incur the consequences of their temerity. In former times, the summons to surrender was accompanied with a threat of putting the garrison to the sword; and if, under such circumstances, the besieged determined to try conclusions, they knew their fate if defeated. In the policy of war, it may become necessary for a General to capture a fortified position, which may be temporarily held by a very inferior force, and who, in assault, might involve the lives of double their number. Under such circumstances, a surrender comes too late for safety, after the works have been carried at the point of the bayonet by infuriated troops. We believe that Forrest was justified by the usages of civilized war in the signal punishment he visited upon the MONGREL garrison of Fort Pillow. They twice refused to receive his flag demanding a surrender to superior numbers, and, of course, took the consequences of their temerity."

of nations authorizes in such cases. The Richmond *Enquirer* says: "Should it become necessary to put a garrison to the sword, under the laws of war, we should expect the whites to be shot and the negroes to be sold. A negro at \$5,000 is too valuable to be shot."

To settle the question at issue, whether the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, as at Fort Pillow, is justified by the usages of war, or whether these usages justify even the slaying of *soldiers* who have refused to surrender, and a successful assault follows—let us consult a competent and acknowledged authority upon the Law of Nations.

VATTEL ON THE FORT PILLOW MASSACRE.

In Chitty's VATTEL, Ch. xviii, "Of Civil War," this distinguished publicist says:

It is very evident that the common laws of war—those maxims of humanity, moderation, and honor, which we have already detailed in the course of this work—ought to be observed by both parties in every civil war. For the same reasons which render the observance of those maxims a matter of obligation between State and State, it becomes equally and even more necessary in the unhappy circumstance of two incensed parties lacerating their common country.

According to this authority, whether the ground taken by the United States be correct, that this is a "civil war" and the Southern people "rebels," or that the parties, as the South claims, are "independent nations," the ordinary laws of war must be understood to govern the contest.

In Ch. viii of the same work, "Of the Rights of Nations in War—and first, of what we have a Right to do, and what we are Allowed to do, to the Enemy's Person, in a Just War," it is said:

But the very manner in which the right to kill our enemies is proved, points out the limits of that right. On an enemy's submitting and laying down his arms, we can not with justice take away his life. Thus, in battle, quarter is to be given to those who lay down their arms; and, in a siege, a garrison offering to capitulate are never to be refused their lives. * * * How could it be conceived in an enlightened age, that it is lawful to punish with death a governor who has defended his town to the last extremity, or who, in a weak place, has had the

courage to hold out against a royal army? In the last century this notion still prevailed; it was looked upon as one of the laws of war, and is not, even at present, totally exploded. What an idea! to punish a brave man for having performed his duty! Very different were the principles of Alexander the Great, when he gave orders for sparing some Milesians, on account of their courage and fidelity. * * * It is in vain to object, that an obstinate defense, especially in a weak place, against a royal army, only causes a fruitless effusion of blood. Such a defense may save the State, by delaying the enemy some days longer; and besides, courage supplies the defects of the fortifications. * * * If it be urged, that, by threatening a commandment with death, you may shorten a bloody siege, spare your troops, and make a valuable saving of time, my answer is, that a brave man will despise your menace, or, incensed by such ignominious treatment, will sell his life as dearly as he can, will bury himself under the ruins of his fort, and make you pay for your injustice. But, whatever advantage you might promise yourself from an unlawful proceeding, that will not warrant you in the use of it. The menace of an unjust punishment is unjust in itself: it is an insult and an injury. But above all, it would be horrible and barbarous to put it in execution; and, if you allow that the threatened consequences must not be realized, the threat is vain and ridiculous. *Just and honorable means may be employed to dissuade a governor from ineffectually persevering to the last extremity: and such is the present practice of all prudent and humane generals.* At a proper stage of the business they may summon a governor to surrender; they offer him honorable and advantageous terms of capitulation—accompanied by a threat, that if he delays too long, *he will only be permitted to surrender as a prisoner of war, and at discretion.* If he persists, and is at length forced to surrender at discretion, they may then treat both himself and his troops with all the severity of the law of war. *But that law can never extend so far as to give a right to take away the life of an enemy who lays down his arms, unless he has been guilty of some crime against the conqueror.*

We understand the meaning of the foregoing to be, that the life of a garrison is not forfeited by the laws of war, simply by a heroic resistance to an attack and a persistent refusal to surrender on demand, even though the place may be finally carried by assault. This appears evident from a special and sole exception which the author makes to this otherwise general rule as follows:

There is, however, one case, in which we may refuse to spare the life of an enemy who surrenders, or to allow any capitulation to a town reduced

to the last extremity. It is when that enemy has been guilty of some enormous breach of the law of nations, and particularly when he has violated the laws of war. *This refusal of quarter is no natural consequence of the war, but a punishment for his crime*—a punishment which the injured party has a right to inflict. But, in order that it be justly inflicted, *it must fall on the guilty.* * * * He who has even the most just cause to punish a sovereign with whom he is at enmity, will ever incur the reproach of cruelty, if he causes the punishment to fall on his innocent subjects.

This view of the general rule, given in the former extract above, is confirmed by the views of the London press on the Fort Pillow massacre.*

But we have not yet given, from Vattel, that which *fully* meets the Fort Pillow atrocity. It was not a garrison of *soldiers merely*, that the high-born "Southrons" put to the sword. It was—*men, women, and children, the sick and the wounded.* Hear this great authority again, in the same chapter :

Women, children, feeble old men, and sick persons, come under the description of enemies ; and we have certain rights over them, inasmuch as they belong to the nation with whom we are at war, and as, between nation and nation, all rights and pretensions affect the body of the society, together with all its members. But these are enemies who make no resistance ; and consequently we have no right to maltreat their persons, or use any violence against them, *much less to take away their lives.* This is so plain a maxim of justice and humanity, that at present every nation, IN THE LEAST DEGREE CIVILIZED, acquiesces in it.

We have now—touching the "usages of war"—arrived at a point of the present case sufficiently exhaustive. The people in rebellion against the Government of the United States claim

* The London *Daily News* says: "There can be no doubt, that, under the recognized laws of war, the Government of the United States is perfectly entitled to visit such an atrocity with *signal retaliation.* It is laid down clearly enough by Vattel, and indeed by every authoritative writer on the subject, that if a hostile general has, without any just reason, caused prisoners to be executed, the Government against which he is fighting may execute an equal number of his people, notifying to him that it will continue thus to retaliate, for the purpose of obliging him to observe the laws of war." As the London journal regards *this case* as a proper one for "retaliation," it of course regards "the laws of war" to have been violated in this massacre.

to be a "nation." We admit, for the moment, their claim. Then, Fort Pillow furnishing the facts, and Vattel the law, they are a "nation" not "in the least degree civilized." There we are willing to leave them.

THE RATIONALE OF THE MASSACRES.

If a solution were sought for these atrocities, perpetrated and justified by a people of so much refinement, intelligence, cultivation, valor, pride, and piety—all which, at least, are qualities claimed by them—it can not so rationally be furnished as by referring it to the monstrous imbrutement which their peculiar views of the system of negro slavery have wrought into the very texture of body and soul; and to the desperation with which the prospect of speedy and final failure to the cause undertaken for its extension and perpetuation has seized them. No other people, we venture to affirm, upon the face of the wide earth, in the year of grace eighteen hundred and sixty-four, having the qualities which have hitherto been accorded to them, could have thus vented their malice upon the innocent and unoffending of a down-trodden race.*

Aristotle defines a *slave* to be "a tool with a soul in it." But it was left for our day to reveal a race of *masters* who are utterly without souls. Their deeds show this lack in their

* The views we here take are those only which are common to the loyal portion of the people. The *Washington Chronicle*, speaking of these massacres, says: "They must, in any case, prove the baleful influence of the institution of slavery, the devilish passion it gives, and the hatred of freedom with which it inspires the leaders of the rebel army and their followers. Desperation develops their latent ferocity, and they throw aside the thin disguise of spurious chivalry, which for awhile veiled their ingrained brutality. Whatever was in any degree refined or civilized among them has disappeared, and the infernal spirit of the slave-dealer, the inhuman cruelty of the overseer, have come to the surface, have assumed the rein, and, in the last agony of despairing rage, perpetrates crimes which the diabolism of slavery alone could imagine."

The religious press, Protestant and Catholic, takes very much the same view as the secular. The *Catholic Telegraph* says: "The barbarities practiced by the Southern troops on their captives, are not only true, but monstrous in character. The savages on the frontier of Minnesota did nothing more revolting than these chivalrous gentlemen at Fort Pillow. We also hear that the prisoners, returning home from rebel prisons, are reduced by starvation to mere skeletons; and others, owing to the treatment received, are rendered imbecile. No people pretending to Christianity would perpetrate such horrors on their fellow-creatures, if they had not been demoralized by slavery."

nature. It is true that in Greece and Rome the cruelties developed by slavery were dreadful to contemplate. The legal aspect of the system, and the practice under it, show its atrocities to have exceeded what hitherto has commonly occurred under the Southern system; and the ears of the world have been continually dinning with this, as an extenuation of the latter. But that was a pagan era, only emerging into the dawn of Christianity; while this is the age of Gospel light in its meridian brightness. The great men of antiquity, who defended the *system* of slavery, were themselves enslaved by a degrading and brutalizing idolatry; while "our Southern brethren" claim to have arrived at a high degree of Christian knowledge, and have been pointed to as models of all the Christian virtues.

What, then, though in Greece, Euripides "does not experience the most transient emotion at the sight of these unfortunates;" that Aristophanes thinks it a "good jest to show us Charon refusing them his bark;" that old Hesiod "coldly writes that the slave is to the rich what the ox is to the poor;" that the cultivated Epictetus, once himself a slave, remains "almost insensible to the ills of his fellows;" and what though, in Rome, the great Cato compares his aged slaves "to the worn-out cattle in his stable," and Plautus regards them as "a race good for chains" only; what if all this was asserted by these men, and like sentiments, or even worse, were entertained by other great men of those times, and their practices accorded with them? These men were in that condition described by Paul in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans—"professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts and creeping things; who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshiped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed forever."

But "our Southern brethren" are not *such* idolaters. They have, it is true, in a very palpable sense, "worshiped" slavery; determined to build a government upon it as a "corner-stone;" declared it their great "providential trust" to "conserve and extend" it; "changed the truth of God into a lie" to convince the world that God smiled upon their efforts, that they were

acting according to His Word, and that they were special executors of His will. But all this they have done in spite of the full blaze of a Revelation from heaven; in the face of an otherwise universal sentiment of Christendom; in the light of the nineteenth century of the Christian era; and when the power of the same Gospel under which they live has broken the shackles of the slave in every other country where it has been planted and sustained.

It may be that "our Southern brethren" are right, and all the world are wrong; that they, "professing themselves to be wise," are "wise," and the rest of mankind are "fools;" and that the result of their present schemes will be the demonstration of this. But we are of the opinion that the present movements of God's providence in this land will overwhelm these conspirators against human freedom, and remove slavery from it for evermore. The very barbarities which they practice, and their highest authorities defend, as a means of executing their "divine mission," will but hasten the long-desired consummation.

We do not charge upon the Southern Church the sanction of these cruelties, practiced upon the innocent of a down-trodden race by their military and civil rulers. We have, as yet, no means of knowing how they would be regarded by the religious press or religious bodies of the South. But the past may guide us in forming a judgment. If they speak at all, we expect to find these atrocities justified. We may be mistaken, but we think the events will reveal that we are not. The action of religious bodies and distinguished religious men, already known to the world, is one of the grounds of our expectation.

In April, 1863, various denominations of Christians at the South, including Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Lutherans, German Reformed, and some other smaller bodies, published "An Address to Christians throughout the World," upon the whole subject of the war. They regard the Union as past being restored, and the "Confederate Government" permanently established. They speak of the Emancipation Proclamation of the President as a "mere political document," and take the view which Southern politicians and their Northern sympathizers have often done, that it will have

no practical effect, that it is a mere "brutum fulmen." But they tell the world what they will do in certain contingencies; they intimate a possible universal slaughter of the black race in their midst; "make it absolutely necessary," says the Address, "for the public safety, that the slaves be slaughtered, and he who should write the history of that event, would record the darkest chapter of human woe yet written." These several denominations of Christians, through this Address, commend the Christian character of their rulers, generals, soldiers, and people; and they make the Rebel Chief—the man who in his message to their Congress rejoiced over the victory at Fort Pillow—the type of that exalted piety which they display to the admiration of "Christians throughout the World."

ART V.—*Abraham's Position in Sacred History.*

ABOUT two thousand years after the creation of the human race, and two thousand before the incarnation of its Redeemer, a Shemite family left Ur of the Chaldees, in the region beyond the Euphrates, and removed to Haran. The head of the family was Terah. He took with him Abram, his youngest son; Sarah, Abram's wife; and Lot, his grandson, whose father, Haran, Terah's eldest son, was dead. The occasion of this migration was the command of God, requiring Abram to leave his country and his kindred, and go to another land (Acts vii: 3). Although this command was addressed to Abram, yet Terah, true to the instincts of an aged father, undertook the journey with his son. The party remained at Haran until the death of Terah; when Abram, now the patriarch of the family, took with him "Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan," (Gen. xii: 5).

In this incident mention is made, for the first time, of the most illustrious name in Old Testament history. The prominence given to Abraham in the Scriptures appears in a variety

of forms: in the space appropriated to his biography, in the frequent recurrence of his name throughout the Sacred Volume, in the titles of honor applied to him, and in the position assigned to him in the genealogical registers. The history of the world, for the first two thousand years, is condensed into eleven chapters of the book of Genesis, but the personal history of Abraham is spread over fourteen chapters of the same book; and, besides, all the following Scriptures are occupied in unfolding the divine purposes, the rudiments of which were revealed to the patriarch. Next, the name of Adam occurs eleven times in both Testaments; the name of Noah twenty times; but that of Abraham may be found in as many as one hundred and twenty places—these places being distributed, not unequally, throughout the entire volume. Terms of the highest reverence also are applied to him. “Ab,” is equivalent to Father; “Ab-ram,” to high Father, and “Abra-ham,” to Father of many nations (Gen. xvii: 5). He is called the “friend of God,” by historian, prophet and apostle (2 Chron. xx: 7; Isaiah xli: 8; James ii: 23). Paul styles him, “our father Abraham,” “the father of all them that believe,” and “faithful Abraham;” and Christ employs the expression, “Abraham’s bosom,” as an equivalent for the heavenly rest. Again: the tables of genealogy and chronology, which occur in the antecedent history, terminate in this patriarch; and the tables, which follow in Moses, in the Chronicles and in Matthew, take their departure from his name, make their way through the ages to David, and through David and his royal line to Christ. Not less significant, moreover, is the position accorded to the patriarch in the written history and unwritten traditions of the Oriental races. The cheeks of the Jews mantled with pride when they exclaimed, “We have Abraham to our father!” According to Josephus, he is revered by the Chaldeans as their teacher in monotheism; and by the Egyptians, as their teacher in mathematics and astronomy. Nicolaus, the historian of Syria, ascribes to him the conquest of Damascus, accomplished when on his journey from Chaldea to Canaan.* The Koran abounds in tributes of respect to his memory and in traditions of his piety and wisdom. He is known among the

* Josephus, *Ant.* i, ch. vii, § 7, 8.

Arabs, to this day, as "El Khalil," "The Friend," i. e. of God. The natives of Orfa, a town which claims to be the ancient Ur of the Chaldees, still repeat his story; and, among the cypresses which shade the sacred pool of Callirhoe, the Beautiful Spring, they point to the spot, where, as they say, he offered his first prayer to the living God.* Hebron, in Palestine, to this day bears the name of El Khalil in honor of Abraham; and the inhabitants show not only his tomb but the venerable oak, Sindian, under which, as they believe, he pitched his tent.

Now, the celebrity of Abraham is wholly due to his position in Biblical history, or to the part which was assigned to him in the historical evolution of the plan of salvation. In order to a proper appreciation of his true position, it is necessary to advert to the religious condition of mankind at the period of his migration. The time that elapsed between the flood and the birth of Abraham is computed at about three hundred and sixty-five years. The population of the earth at this period is purely a matter of conjecture. Professor C. F. Keil entertains his readers with two calculations; in one of these he assumes an average of eight children, and in the other of ten children, to a marriage. The first calculation terminates in a sum total of twenty-five millions of souls; the second, in a sum total of two hundred and ninety millions, as the population of the globe at the call of Abram.† The patriarchs of the world after the flood were still living. Noah died shortly before or shortly after the birth of Abraham; but Shem lived until Abraham was far advanced in life, and until Isaac had reached early manhood. The human race, as a whole, had long since forgotten God. In the Messianic prophecy, uttered by Noah, it was declared that salvation should come to man through the line of Shem (Gen. ix: 26). But, in the days of Peleg, a general apostasy occurred, taking the form of an attempt, in which the whole race, the posterity of Shem included, were joined together to set up a godless empire, having its capital city on the plains of Shinar. The Almighty crushed the conspiracy by confounding their languages; and, as the effect of that measure, scattering the people abroad over the whole earth. Neither the confusion of tongues, nor the dispersion of man-

* Stanley's Jewish Church, p. 7.

† Keil and Delitzsch, Vol. i, p. 178.

kind, served to hold in check the prevailing ungodliness. Many tongues there were, many nations, many lands; but one heart was in all men—and that was desperately wicked. The Pentateuch does not describe the religious condition of the nations descending from Ham and Japheth; but there is no reason to suppose that they were better than the descendants of Shem; and the descendants of Shem, although Shem himself was still living and the Messianic promise was in his line, had become idolaters. This fact is fully established by the message which God sent to the Hebrews soon after the conquest of Canaan: "And Joshua said unto all the people, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor; and they served other gods" (Josh. xxiv: 2. Comp. v. 14). Chaldea was, according to the commonly received opinion, the cradle of idolatry, if not its native land. In the time of Jeremiah, fifteen hundred years later, Chaldea was notorious for its pagan worship. "It is a land of graven images, and they are mad upon their idols" (Jer. 1: 38. Comp. 1: 2; li: 47, 52). It may be assumed, therefore, that at the birth of Abraham, the human race was in a state of total apostasy. The promise of God, in the first Gospel, that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, and His promise, through Noah, that salvation should come to mankind in the family of Shem, demanded the adoption of measures to arrest the universal ungodliness, and to establish, upon sure foundations, the kingdom of God among men. These measures began with the calling of Abraham. Now, in the degeneracy of mankind, and in the peculiar plan upon which it pleased God to unfold the work of redemption, the true place of Abraham in sacred history is to be sought.

Five factors entered into his historical position. First, in him was commenced a new era or dispensation of the kingdom of God on earth. The term *Universalism* has been employed to describe what was peculiar in the previous administration of that kingdom. In the foregoing ages the word of revelation, the worship of God, and the care of the sanctuary were committed to the keeping of the human family as a whole. No special relation had been established between God and a favored race. There was in existence no chosen people, in the bosom

of which the kingdom of the saints was established, no sacerdotal order whose exclusive prerogative it was to offer gifts and sacrifices to God. Throughout the three groups of nations descending from Shem, Ham, and Japheth, the knowledge of divine truth was not unequally diffused, and the worship of God perpetuated by here and there a patriarchal priest. Shem had received the promise, but the most of his descendants were idolatrous. The curse had been pronounced on Canaan, yet his posterity had not wholly forgotten Jehovah; for Melchisedek, a priest of the most high God, was a Canaanite. But with Abraham a new era was introduced, the characteristic of which has been denominated *Particularism*. In him a chosen individual, in his immediate posterity a chosen family, and in his more remote descendants a chosen people emerged from the mass of mankind. To them only were intrusted the word of revelation, a true sanctuary, a consecrated priesthood, and an acceptable worship. The seed of Abraham became unto God a peculiar treasure above all people, a kingdom of priests and a holy nation (Ex. xix: 5, 6). The rest of mankind, including all the nations descending from Japheth and Ham and all the nations descending from Shem, the Abrahamic stock excepted, experienced a silent rejection for their ungodliness and idolatry. The end of this arrangement, however, was the redemption of the whole human race. The universal gave place for a time, to the particular; but the particular was intended to terminate in the universal. One man and his posterity were selected to receive the blessing, but they were to be the channels through which the blessing was to flow unto all nations.

Secondly, he became the progenitor and founder of a new and remarkable race. The most important branch of his posterity were called Hebrews, a term which points, according to some of the learned, to Eber, one of Abraham's ancestors, or, as others maintain, to the fact that he crossed the river Euphrates on his journey to Canaan. After the time of the Judges they were known as the children of Israel or Israelites, or simply Israel. At the secession of the Ten Tribes the remnant took the name of Jews, from the tribe of Judah. But although they never bore the name of Abraham, as a patronymic, they were so far true to their history as to refer to Abraham as their progenitor, and to begin their national genealogies with his

name. The unique and conspicuous position occupied by the Jews in all the ages and in every country, their place in the history of every historical race in ancient and modern times, above all the part assigned to them in the development of salvation and the wonderful career of this people in the progress of which that plan of mercy was evolved, all point back to Abraham as one of the most renowned of the renowned few who have founded great nationalities.

Thirdly. His relation to the covenant of circumcision, as the human party contractor, was another element entering into his public position. The biography of the patriarch turns upon the giving of the covenant as the most decisive event of his life, and this instrument became the primal organic law of the institutions of Judaism and Christianity. Very grave questions have arisen touching the nature, extent, and permanency of the Abrahamic covenant, very wide differences of opinion exist as to the proper interpretation of its promises and stipulations, and as to the uses and significance of its seal; yet it will not be denied that the covenant itself is one of the most, if not the very most important document, of its kind, recorded in the biblical history.

Fourthly. In Abraham the Church of God received its first organization. The church had existed through all the ages, even from the utterance of the first Gospel in the curse pronounced on the serpent; but it existed in the persons of its individual members, scattered abroad; it was made manifest in the observance of the holy Sabbath and in the ordinance of sacrifice, as that was solemnized by here and there a true worshiper like Abel, Noah, and Melchisedek; or it was made known in the word of life revealed unto it and published by here and there a preacher of righteousness like Enoch and Noah. But as an organized society it did not exist until it was established in the family of Abraham. As the light was on the first day created and not until the fourth day gathered upon the disc of the sun, so the church was at first made visible in the persons and holy worship of the saints scattered abroad, and then, at the end of two thousand years, these were assembled and constituted into a separate community—the household of faith.

Fifthly. The Scriptures do not hesitate to speak of Abraham as, in a spiritual sense, the father of all true believers. He is

called "the father of all them that believe" (Rom. iv: 11). Gentile converts are repeatedly described as his children (Rom. iv: 12; Gal. iii: 29). And the promise made to him that he should be the father of many nations, is explained by Paul in the same spiritual and comprehensive sense (Gen. xvii: 5; Rom. iv: 16, 17). True believers, though they be Gentiles, are the real Israel of God, the acknowledged children of Abraham, and, as children, heirs to all the covenant promises that remain to be fulfilled.

The historical position of Abraham supplies the point of view from which his biography is to be examined. The problem actually solved, by the providence and grace of God, may be stated thus: A man was raised up, in a period of almost total apostasy, in whom a nature was formed answerable to the dispensation of saving mercy that was introduced in his person, to the mission and career of the race that took its origin from himself, to the covenant in which he became a party with the Almighty, to the Church of God that was organized, for the first time in his family, and to the whole body of the redeemed on earth, of whom he was reckoned to be the father. Any biographical sketch of the patriarch or any commentary on his life and times, will be wholly insufficient which does not rightly estimate his place in biblical history, and which does not, also, reproduce those features in his character and those incidents in his life which correspond to his exalted and peculiar position. He was not a statesman, or lawgiver, or soldier; he was not the founder of a new world-power or of a dynasty of kings; but he was the representative and type of the visible kingdom of God on earth.

The opening paragraph of the inspired biography of Abraham furnishes the clue to the real tenor of the narrative: "Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee: and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing: and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xii: 1-8). It will be observed that these words contain in both form and substance a divine communication to Abram. This circumstance exhibits the first

characteristic in his personal history: it was, more than that of any other patriarch, a series of divine revelations. The contents of these communications are to be examined hereafter. Nothing more is needful, just here, than to point out the fact that an abundance of revelations was made to him, and that these enter largely into what was peculiar in his career. He who denies the possibility of a special revelation from God, or admitting its possibility, denies that any such communication has been made to mankind, can not proceed a step in this inquiry. The biography of Abraham contains either a series of veritable revelations or of insignificant legends.

The narrative is so constructed, secondly, as to explain the nature of his vocation and its attending circumstances. "The LORD had said unto him, Get thee out of thy country," etc. (Gen. xii: 1. Compare Acts vii: 2-3). His journey was undertaken at the command of God. He was not, as some writers have assumed, a Bedouin sheik, leaving the crowded pastures and exhausted water-springs of Chaldea and wandering with his flocks as far as Canaan, in search of wider fields and more redundant fountains; nor was he drawn away from home by the love of adventure or by the impulses of a roving disposition; he was not a fugitive from justice or oppression, nor a refugee from the ruins of a falling kingdom or from the terrors of civil war. His vocation was undoubtedly divine. Not only the call itself, as supernatural, is determined by the record, but its circumstantialia are explained. One of the most important of these, is the fact that the divine choice fell upon the line of Shem. According to the terms of the second Messianic prophecy, as it was uttered by Noah, the blessing promised in the first gospel, even a holy seed, was to be revealed in the posterity of Shem (Gen. ix: 26). The genealogical table in the eleventh chapter of Genesis traces the lineage of Shem through eight generations down to Terah and Abram his son; which completes that part of the case. Next; the people out of which Abram was taken were idolaters (Josh. xxiv: 2). That Terah served other gods is distinctly stated. Whether Abram was himself an idolater is, perhaps, an open question. But even if he had escaped the contagion, the fact that his immediate family had reached that stage of iniquity, lends much significance to the circumstance that he was chosen and called out of

the world unto the service of God. Once more: This vocation was sovereign. Why Abram was chosen rather than Terah his father, or Nahor his brother, or Lot his nephew, or any other individual in the line of Shem, does not appear. If, as it seems to be established, he was the youngest son of Terah, the election did not follow the law of primogeniture.*

If, in early life, he served other gods, there was no reason in his religion why he should be taken out of the mass of the Chaldeans; if he was from his youth up a worshiper of the true God, his piety was a divine gift, and as such was not the procuring cause of his vocation. His moral qualities, such as his generosity, courage and hospitality, were of a high order. His obedience and faith were every way remarkable; yet these also were the gifts of God. They do not explain his vocation. They were the fruits, not the roots thereof. Their existence in him is to be accounted for by the fact that he had been chosen and foreordained of God unto his exalted position, and these virtues had been imparted to him as qualifications for the work set before him. His vocation was sovereign in the general sense that he was called for reasons not revealed, and in the more rigid sense of an act of sovereignty, in that he was called for reasons which were not in him but in God.

The opening paragraph of the narrative indicates a third characteristic of Abraham's career—his colonization. The com-

* The names of Terah's sons are arranged in the following order: Abram, Nahor, Haran (Gen. xi: 27). This arrangement is not decisive of their relative ages, but may have been designed to indicate their relative importance in the history. Terah became a parent at 70 years of age (xi: 26); he died at Haran, aged 205, when his eldest son, if living, was 135 (xi: 82). But Abram went to Canaan after the death of Terah, and was at that time 75 (Acts vii: 4; Gen. xii: 4): showing that Abram was not the oldest son by 65 years, and that Terah was 130 years old at the birth of Abram. But if that be true, why did Abram think it strange that he himself should become a father at 100? (Gen. xvii: 17. Comp. Rom. iv: 19). The Samaritan Pentateuch escapes the difficulty by putting the age of Terah when he died, at 145; but this reading is not sustained by any of the ancient versions. The best explanation is, perhaps, that Abram at 100 knew himself to be prematurely old; an explanation which is suggested by the fact that after the death of Sarah, at which time he was 137, six sons were born to him in his marriage with Keturah (Gen. xvii: 17; xxiii: 1; xxiv: 67; xxv: 1-2). Haran, who died in Ur, was probably the oldest son; for Nahor married his daughter, and if, as the Jews assert, Iscah was another name for Sarah, Abram also married a daughter of Haran (xi: 29). Comp., however, xx: 12.

mand required him to leave his country and to go to a land that God would show him (Gen. xii : 1). It is to be borne in mind that the original call was addressed to Abram, not after he reached Haran, as some have held, but before he left his native place in Ur of the Chaldees. This fact is to be deduced from the terms of the call ; it required him to leave his *country*, a command which would have been superfluous if he had already migrated from Chaldea. It is confirmed by what God afterward said to him : " I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees " (Gen. xv : 7). It is established by the testimony of Stephen : " The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran, and said unto him, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come into a land that I will show thee " (Acts vii : 3). There is a wide difference between the two methods according to which the dispersions of mankind have proceeded. The first is a process of colonization, whereby a certain number of families expatriate themselves forever and remove to a distant land, crossing a continent or a sea in a movable column, as birds of the air migrate from land to land. The second and more common method is a process of natural expansion, whereby mankind when they multiply, enlarge gradually the bounds of their habitations and spread abroad like a sea with its shores taken away. The early settlements effected nearly two hundred and fifty years ago, on the eastern edge of this continent, furnish a fine example of colonization ; the progressive occupancy of its vast interior is a remarkable example of natural expansion. Now the enterprise of colonization which has made so large a figure in the history of the Japhetic races and the Phenician branch of the family of Ham, has been almost wholly foreign to the habits and traditions of the Shemitic tribes. The Chaldean shepherds, guided by the stars, led their flocks over wide ranges of hunting grounds ; and their warriors, impelled by the lust of plunder or revenge, carried their arms, even before the call of Abraham, as far as Southern Palestine. But the wanderings of the shepherds and the raids of the Bedouin robbers terminated at the point of departure—the tents of the women and children. Their habitual inertness and contentment, their virtues, such as they were, and their vices, too, rooted them to their native regions. Now

Abraham was required to abandon all these traditions, to quit forever his country and to emigrate to another land. With colonization its usual concomitants came to him and to his posterity—new forms of government, new usages, new habits of life, a new type of civilization, and what was peculiar in their experience, a new religion.

Closely allied to the process of colonization was a fourth element in the plan of life prescribed to the patriarch: the process of segregation. He was directed to separate himself not only from his country, but from his kindred, and from his father's house (Gen. xii: 1). At his departure from Ur of the Chaldees, he took with him none of his family except his wife, his father, Lot his nephew, and Lot's wife; and thus he was parted from the great body of his kindred. He so-journed at Haran, a city several days' journey north of Canaan, until the death of Terah, his father, severed the last link that bound him to his ancestry (Acts vii: 4). After his arrival in Palestine, a difficulty which arose among the herdsmen led to the final separation of Lot from the chosen family. The isolation of Abram was now complete; he and Sarah, his wife, with their servants, were alone in the land. Not only so, but his wandering life, bringing him successively to Sichem, to Bethel, to Hebron, to Egypt, to Gerar, to Beersheba, and back to Hebron, precluded the possibility of his becoming identified with the people who held the promised land. Further, the difficulties in which he became involved with Pharaoh and Abimilech prevented his affiliation with the Egyptians and the Philistines, and banished him from those countries. And, further yet, when he went into the land of Canaan he had no children, and was, therefore, cut off from alliance, by intermarriage, with the aborigines. Then, finally, Ishmael, as soon as he was grown, was separated from the chosen family and dwelt in the desert; and the children of Abraham's last wife, Keturah, were sent away "eastward into the east country." Nothing is more remarkable in the dealings of God with the patriarch than the rigor with which the law of segregation was applied to his immediate family.

The Almighty, having given these commands to Abraham, proceeds to bestow upon him a series of promises. These promises shaped and colored the course of his life. "I will

make of thee," said Jehovah, "a great nation." He entered the land of Canaan without a child and without expectation of offspring. At his death he left behind him, in his son Isaac, the germ of David's kingdom in all its glory and power; in Ishmael, the progenitor of twelve princes, and of as many powerful Bedouin tribes; and in the seven sons of Keturah, the ancestors of the vast and warlike populations of Arabia. And, yet more, Abraham left behind him the beginnings of a "nation" greater than all these combined, to wit, his spiritual seed, the whole body of the redeemed (Gal. iii: 29).

Then followed the words: "I will bless thee." The sacred writer shows, in many particulars, how this promise was fulfilled. The wealth of Abraham increased; "he was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold" (xiii: 2). The servants born in his house multiplied until they furnished him with a band of three hundred and eighteen fighting men (xiv: 14). He routed the armies of the confederate kings from the East, who invaded Palestine, put them to flight, chased them from the valley of the salt-sea, through the whole length of the country, as far north as Hobah, "which is on the left of Damascus," and rescued his nephew Lot, and the goods, the women, and the prisoners from the hands of the marauders (xiv: 13, 16). And as the richest of his temporal blessings, God gave to him a son in his marriage with Sarah, and spared the boy when bound upon the altar. Length of days is commonly considered an inestimable blessing. This Abraham enjoyed, for he lived to a good old age, even to a hundred and seventy-five years.

Another element in this benediction is thus described: "I will make thy name great." The renown of Abraham, first in his own day, among his own kindred, and throughout the East, and then by means of the circulation of the Scriptures, through all the ages, among all kindreds of the earth, and throughout all lands under heaven, has given to this promise its largest fulfillment. Nothing can exceed the honors which Jew, Mohammedan, and Christian, at war in almost every other sentiment, unite in paying to the far-famed, illustrious, and imperishable memory of Abraham.

Not only so, but the Almighty declared that he would regulate the destiny of other men according to the attitude they should assume toward his chosen one. He said: "I will bless

them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee." Calvin finds in these words an extraordinary manifestation of the kindness of God, "in that he familiarly makes a covenant with Abraham, as men are wont to do with their companions and equals. For this is the accustomed form of covenants between kings and others, that they mutually promise to have the same friends and enemies."* The promise, moreover, indicates a leading feature in the biography of the patriarch. God did, in point of fact, bless the friends and curse the enemies of his servant. When Abraham went to Egypt, Pharaoh took Sarah from her husband, intending, doubtless, to shut her up in his harem. Jehovah sent great plagues upon the king and upon his house on account of Sarah; so that Pharaoh gave her back to her husband (xii: 14-20). Several years afterward, Abimilech, a Philistine chief, offered to Abram and Sarah a similar indignity. Jehovah warned the Philistine of the crime he was about to commit, and threatened him with instant death. The warning was effectual, and Sarah was again restored unharmed to Abraham (chap. xx). The life of the patriarch was full of honors and blessings. All his affairs, even his sorest trials, received a joyous issue. Toward the close of the narrative the sacred writer sums it all up in terms responsive to the original promise: "Abraham was old and well stricken in age; and the Lord had blessed Abraham in all things" (Gen. xxiv: 1).

The concluding consummate blessing is thus described: "In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." The Apostle Paul declares, in terms, that the true intent and meaning of this promise is the salvation of the heathen by the Gospel. "And the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the Gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed" (Gal. iii: 8. Comp. Rom. iv: 16, 17). It is also a favorite opinion with some of the best interpreters, that the expression "all families of the earth" should be read "all families of the ground;" that the word *families* points to the division of the one family into many at the confusion of tongues (Gen. x: 5, 20, 31); and the word *ground* points to the curse pronounced on the ground

* Calvin on Gen. xii: 8.

(chap. iii: 17). The conclusion, according to Keil, is, that "the blessing of Abraham was once more to unite the divided families, and change the curse, pronounced upon the ground on account of sin, into a blessing for the whole human race. This concluding word of God to the patriarch comprehends all nations and times, and condenses, as Baumgarten has said, the fullness of the divine counsel for the salvation of all men in the call of Abram. All further promises, therefore, not only to the patriarchs, but also to Israel, were merely expansions and closer definitions of the salvation held out to the whole human race in the promise to our first parents."* This glorious promise was repeatedly renewed. At the destruction of Sodom, the Almighty assigned, as a reason for admitting Abraham into His secret counsels, the fact that "all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him" (xviii: 18). After the sacrifice of Isaac, Jehovah said to him, "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." Here a new and further revelation was made, even the assurance that all nations should be blessed in the seed of Abraham, and not in Abraham severally, according to the terms used in chap. xii: 3. But the seed of Abraham is Christ, according to the interpretation put upon the promise by the Apostle Paul. "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ" (Gal. iii: 16). The same promise was afterward renewed to Isaac (Gen. xxvi: 3, 4); and again to Jacob, both on his flight from Canaan and on his return thither (Gen. xxviii: 14; xxxv: 11). All the promises made to Abraham, to the patriarchs who came after him, and to the Hebrew nation, and all the blessings bestowed upon them all in their generations culminate in this—the exceeding great and precious promise of a Saviour. In the form in which it was delivered to Abraham, on the occasion of his original call, it is commonly styled the Third Messianic Promise; the first having been given to Adam, the first father of the race; the next to Noah, the second father of the race; and the third to Abraham, the father of the faithful. This promise imparts to the biography of Abraham, to the covenant made with him, to the subsequent cove-

* Keil and Delitzsch's Penta, i: 193, 194.

nants, to the law and the prophets, to all the Scriptures of the Old Testament and the New, to the life and death of Christ, to the Pentecost of the Jews and the Pentecost of the Gentiles, to the labors of the apostles, to the testimony of the martyrs and confessors, and to all human history, their true significance and final end.

It has been already stated that the career of Abraham was distinguished by the number and importance of the divine revelations which he received. Before examining their contents it is necessary to consider the medium through which they were communicated, their subject-matter, their central mass, the form in which they were delivered, the elements which enter into the record made of them, and the progressive development of their leading ideas.

The term Theophany describes the medium through which the revelations were communicated to Abraham. This term is derived from the Greek (*θεωφανεια*), and is applied to the visible manifestations of Jehovah, the actual appearance of the God of glory to the senses of men. He revealed his will to the earlier patriarchs by immediate inward communications; although, it must be acknowledged, that the expressions "The Lord God called unto Adam," "God spake unto Noah," etc., might be taken in the more literal sense of an audible address. But without debating that question, it is to be received as indubitable, that the Almighty appeared openly and spoke audibly to Abraham, and to multitudes of his descendants in their generations. The manifestation occurred sometimes in supernatural visions, sometimes in dreams, and at other times to the external senses, when Jehovah assumed a bodily form. Moses wrote: "The word of Jehovah came unto Abraham in a vision;" "And Jehovah appeared unto him in the plains of Mamre" (Gen. xv.: 1; xviii: 1). Stephen said: "The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia" (Acts vii: 2).^{*} The theophany is, therefore, a leading feature of the Abrahamic history; and many of the learned treat the period as the opening of the theophanic era, an era

^{*} The term for "appeared" is *εφθη*. Compare Acts ii: 3. "And there appeared [*εφθησαν*] unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them." The phenomenon was, in both cases, doubtless visible.

which culminated when Jehovah went before the Hebrews, through the wilderness, in the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire, and which, perhaps, was not finally closed until the apostolical age. The divine manifestations granted to Abraham were ten in number. They occurred in the following order: I. In Mesopotamia, Acts vii: 2. II. At Sichem, Gen. xii: 7. III. At Bethel, xiii: 14. IV-VIII. At Mamre, xv: 1; xvii: 1; xviii: 1; xxi: 12; xxii: 1. IX and X. At Mt. Moriah, xxii: 11, 15.

The subject-matter of these ten theophanic revelations lies upon their surface. The two ideas, which are most prominent in the entire series, are the Promised Land and the Promised Seed. God gave the assurance to Abraham that he should be the father of a great nation, even of many nations; and the further assurance that his posterity should occupy, as their own rightful inheritance, the land of Canaan. Six of the ten revelations contain the promise both of the seed and of the land; the remaining four are restricted to the one transcendent blessing of a vast posterity.

It is evident, also, that the central mass of all these revelations, and of all the incidents which enter into the life of Abraham, is the covenant of circumcision. This covenant was concluded between the Almighty and the patriarch in two stages; it was begun in the fourth theophany and finished, several years afterward, in the fifth. The leading idea of this instrument in its first stage is, clearly, the Promised Land, and in the second the Promised Seed. To this covenant all that precedes is preparatory and all that follows is supplementary. The whole weight and stress of the narrative rests on this central ground-work. Many promises had been made to Abraham; but these are all repeated in terms or by implication in the body of the covenant. Many providential events had attended or controlled his career in life; these are all explained in the covenant. It sums up and reduces into one body, and broadly unfolds all the revelations which before, even from the days of Adam, had been given to mankind; and it contains the elements of every spiritual blessing which has, through all ages since the time of Abraham, even unto this day, been disclosed to the faith of the believer.

The form in which these revelations were communicated fol-

lowed the analogy of the other holy oracles. It has pleased God to make known his will through the word, not by a single revelation, complete in all its parts, but through a series of successive revelations. He gave the Scriptures, not at one time, by one man in one volume; but at different times, running through a period of two thousand years, by thirty or forty inspired penmen, and in as many as sixty-six different books. "God at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets" (Heb. i: 1). This law of inspiration governed the commands and promises which were addressed to Abraham; they were communicated not all at once, but in nine distinct portions, at eight different times, and in five different places. The period within which these revelations were given may be estimated at fifty years. Abraham was seventy-five years of age when he entered the land of Canaan (Gen. xii: 4); eighty-six at the birth of Ishmael (xvi: 16); one hundred at the birth of Isaac (xxi: 5); one hundred and thirty-seven when Sarah died (xxiii: 1; xvii: 17); and one hundred and seventy-five at his own death (xxv: 7). The age of Isaac at the time of his sacrifice is not recorded; but on supposition that he was then twenty-five years of age, it will follow that not less than fifty years elapsed between the first theophany at Ur and the tenth and last on Mt. Moriah.

It is to be observed, still further, that two distinct elements enter into the structure of the history. One of these is a series of specific revelations, and the other is a running narrative of the events in the life of Abraham, by which the revelations are connected and explained. The covenant-promises are neither wrought into one consecutive whole, nor are they left in detached and insulated fragments. In their nature they are divers not diverse, and in form not disparate but linked together by the record of facts. The plan of the history combines both its two constituent elements in one coherent narrative. The intervals between some of the theophanies extend through several years, but they are filled up with incidents which elucidate the promises and commands of Jehovah. At the beginning God made known his purpose to bless the friends and afflict the enemies of the patriarch; and the subsequent history shows how this purpose was executed on Pharaoh, on Melchisedek, on Abimelech, on Lot, on the confederate kings.

The divine word calling Abram out of the mass of mankind is fully explicated by the divine providence which separated him from his country and his kindred, and his father, and his son Ishmael, and his six sons, the offspring of Keturah, and from all the heathen. The promise of a country is expounded by the record which is made of his sojourn in Canaan, and by the altars and wells, the grove and the burying-place which he left in the land as the monuments of his title to the inheritance. The repeated promises which God made to him respecting his posterity are recorded; so also are the successive stages in his personal history which terminated in the birth of Isaac. Through the entire narrative the sacred writer holds the reader closely to the connection which God established between his revelations to Abraham and his dealings with him. Every word of promise, and every word of command uttered by Jehovah, stand related to some corresponding act of faith or act of obedience performed by the patriarch.

The progressive development of the covenant promises ought also to be noted. It may be clearly traced in the revelations respecting the land of promise, the seed of promise, and the assurances which God gave of his faithfulness to his engagements.

At Ur, in the first theophany, God said to Abraham: "Get thee out of thy country . . . to a land that I will show thee" (Gen. xii: 1). The patriarch "went out not knowing whither he went" (Heb. xi: 8); being left in ignorance as to the name and character of the country to which he was traveling. On his arrival at Sichem, God announced to him, in the second theophany, that he had at last reached the land of promise: "Unto thy seed will I give this land" (Gen. xii: 7). He added nothing, however, defining the extent of the inheritance. At a later period the patriarch ascended "the mountain east of Bethel," where he had "builded an altar unto the Lord" (xii: 8). The view from this height commanded to the north the hills which separate Judea from the fertile plain of Samaria, with glimpses through their valleys of the intrenched cities of the Canaanites; to the south the mountains which were round about the site of Jerusalem and the more distant ranges of Hebron met the vision; to the west rolled the waters of the great sea; while to the east the valley of the Jordan,

laden with tropical luxuriance and fragrant with aromatic shrubs, the long ravine, rich with verdure, and fruits, and stately cedars, winding from Bethel to the Jordan, and beyond the Jordan the dim outline of Moab, graced themselves upon the picture.* Here in this mountain the Lord appeared the third time to Abraham, and said: "Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward; for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed forever" (Gen. xiii: 14, 15). The Lord said more than this; for he added: "Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee" (verse 17). This wide domain was still further enlarged beyond the spheres of both his vision and his journeys. At Mamre, in the fourth theophany, God granted to his seed the whole vast region "from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates" (xv: 18). And then, in the fifth theophany, the imperial gift was made perpetual: "I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession" (xvii: 8). And, finally, the Almighty endowed his servant with an eternal inheritance in "a better country, even an heavenly," of which the earthly Canaan was only a type. "For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God" (Heb. xi: 10).

This law of progressive development appears in the revelations concerning the chosen seed. Respecting their numbers God said at Ur (Gen. xii: 2): "I will make of thee a great nation;" afterward at Bethel (xiii: 16): "I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth;" at Mamre (xv: 5): as the stars in heaven "so shall thy seed be;" and at Moriah (xxii: 17): "I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore." More remarkable still was the gradual disclosures to the patriarch in regard to the legitimacy of the promised seed. At Ur the word of God was: "I will make of thee a great nation;" although Abraham was childless, and Sarah his wife was sixty-five years of age, and she had borne no children. At Sichem, and then at Bethel,

* Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, pp. 214, 215

the promise became more definite: "Unto thy seed will I give this land;" and "I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth." The patriarch relied, it is certain, with implicit faith upon these repeated assurances; but year after year passed away, and he went childless in the land. In his perplexity he attempted to solve the problem, not knowing the power of God, by the conjecture that his seed should arise by way of adoption. Accordingly he proposed to acknowledge and treat as his own heir a child born in his house, the son of his steward, Eliezer of Damascus. God corrected his mistake, saying: "This shall not be thine heir, but he that shall come out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir" (xv: 1-14). But the eleventh year of his sojourn in Canaan found Sarah still childless; and despairing of offspring, she in her turn, not knowing the power of God, attempted to solve the problem. Her conjecture was that the birth of a son from the loins of Abraham and the womb of her servant-maid Hagar, followed by her act, receiving and adopting the child as her own, would fulfill the divine oracle. She gave Hagar to her husband to be his wife, and Ishmael was born. Although the unhappiness which this carnal expedient introduced into the family, should have taught all the parties that they had misinterpreted the word of God, yet both Abraham and Sarah appear to have treated Ishmael as the legitimate heir of the promises until he was thirteen years of age (chap. xvi). In the theophany of the covenant of circumcision, God said to Abraham: "I will bless Sarah and give thee also a son of her" (xvii: 16). At this news, as if it were too strange and too good to be true, Abraham fell upon his face and laughed. Not long afterward the Lord repeated the assurance to Abraham in the hearing of his wife, and she also laughed (xviii: 10-13). But within a year Isaac was born at Mamre; God's covenant was established in him to the exclusion of Ishmael; in due time Isaac was offered in sacrifice to God, and Abraham received him a second time from the dead, the type of Christ, the true and holy SEED of the covenant promises (Gen. xxii: 12; Heb. xi: 19; Gal. iii: 16).

After the same manner were the assurances of the Divine faithfulness communicated. In the beginning God gave to the patriarch a simple promise; in the next two theophanies

this promise was repeated; in the fourth God exalted the promise into a covenant, which he ratified by passing between the fragments of slain beasts (xv: 17); in the fifth God gave the second stage of the covenant in the sign of circumcision (xvii: 10); and finally, He confirmed it all by an oath, wherein, when he could swear by no greater, he swore by himself (xxii: 16). The attestation assumed, the forms successively of a promise, a covenant with sacrifice, a covenant with a sacrament, and an oath: "By Myself, saith the Lord."

It has been already observed, that the progressive discovery of God's purposes to Abraham followed the general law of divine revelation. To this it should be added, that one of the providential purposes of this arrangement was to secure the spiritual discipline of Abraham. His vocation was divine; in him a new dispensation of the kingdom of God was introduced; in him and in his family the visible Church was organized; he became, with the Almighty, an original party to the covenant in which the foundations of that Church were laid; he was the founder of a holy nation, a kingdom of priests, and the father of all true believers coming after him to the end of time. A spiritual discipline, protracted, thorough, and complete, was therefore a necessity of his position. Without this, his departure from Chaldea, his separation from his kindred, his segregation from the heathen, have no significance. Now, as the means of this discipline, God imparted to him imposing manifestations of his glory; slowly unfolded before him stage by stage, his adorable purposes, and held him, through the space of fifty years in subjection to specific revelations, special providences, the powers of the world to come, and the irresistible grace of the Holy Spirit.

ART. VI.—*Withdrawal of Two of the Conductors of this Review :
Card of the Remaining Five : Temporary Suspension of the
Publication.*

THE present number of the *Danville Review* concludes the year 1864, and the fourth year of its own existence. The number has been considerably delayed by changes in the corps of conductors of the work, and by difficulties of many kinds, and very embarrassing ; with respect to which, no joint statement need now be made, nor could probably be now fully agreed on.

The Rev. Drs. E. P. Humphrey and S. Yerkes have informed the remaining conductors, now at Danville, that they withdraw from their connection with this *Review*. Those remaining conductors are, Rev. Drs. R. J. Breckinridge, R. L. Stanton, and Rev. Professors J. Cooper and J. Matthews, now at Danville ; with whom is Rev. Dr. R. W. Landis, now absent on duty as a chaplain in the U. S. V.

These five persons last named are the future proprietors and conductors of the *Danville Review*. Those who issue this card, after the most careful consideration of all the possible alternatives left to them, after the withdrawal of their two colleagues, saw nothing that for the moment was so free from difficulties and objections as the temporary suspension of their publication. It is this extremely disagreeable conclusion they have now to announce to the patrons of this work, and to that loyal public which has sustained it during the four years of its existence.

For a time we inclined to the opinion that this inevitable suspension of the publication should be for a definite and short period, in order to ascertain precisely whether such an income could be secured for it, from its subscription list, as would cover its necessary expenses, and put it in a condition to pay a fair price for, at least, that portion of the matter published in it which should be furnished by outside contributors ; whereby it might be delivered from the incessant danger of destruction by means of the neglect of any of its conductors, or by means of their untimely withdrawal from the Association.

On reflection, however, it has seemed the better way, simply to announce the necessity of the discontinuance, which it is

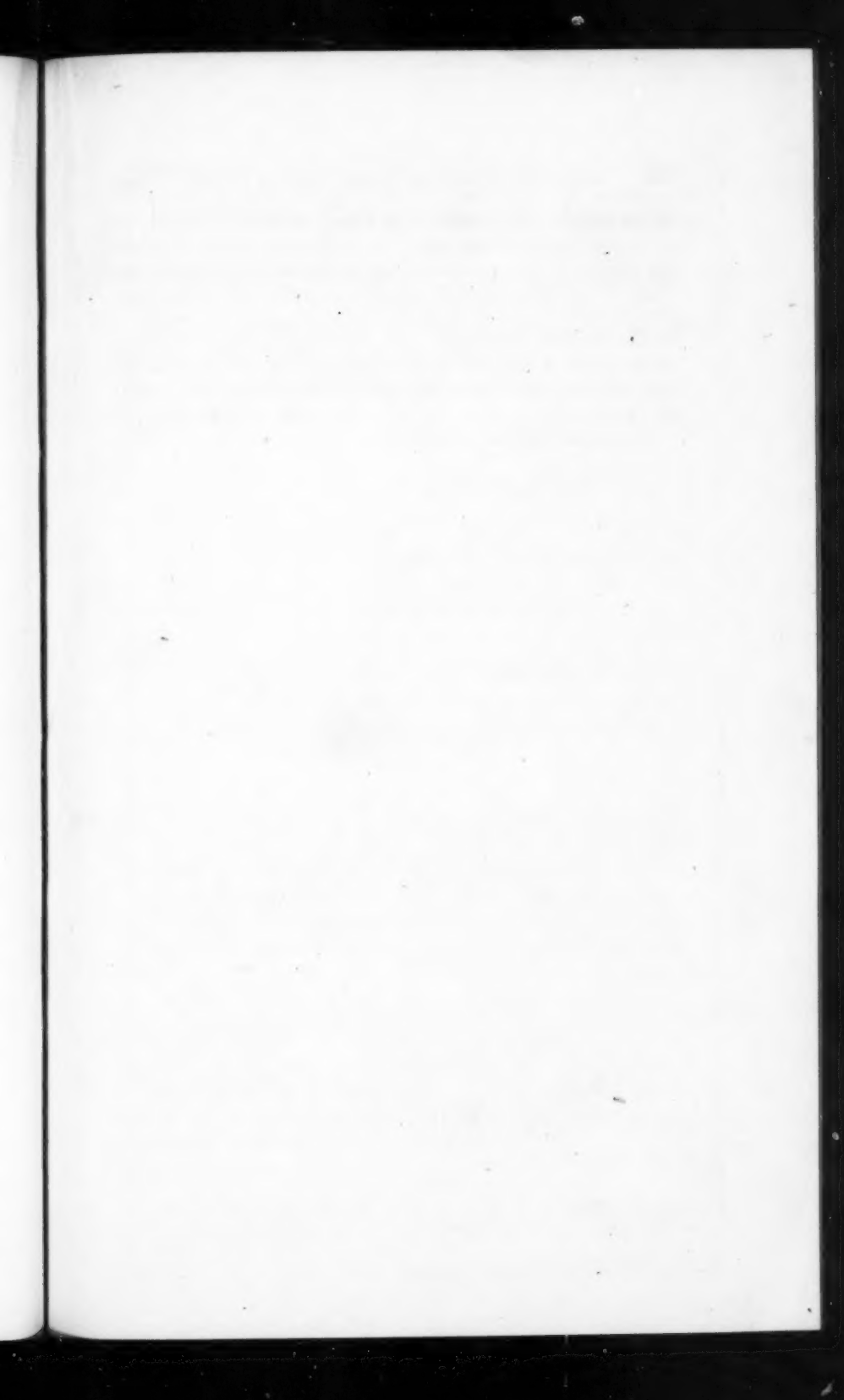
hoped may be only temporary, and to reserve the rest—namely, the time, manner and circumstances of the resumption of its publication—for further developments of providence, further consideration on our part, and a more complete acquaintance with the tendencies of events which seem, at present, to bear unfavorably upon our work. In the mean time, advanced payments already made will be returned as soon as it may be determined that we can not resume the publication of the *Review*. And due notice will be given, as soon as other arrangements are satisfactorily made, and the simple point can be directly submitted to the public, namely, can we secure the patronage necessarily for such an editorial existence as can be considered somewhat more than a reprieve from death for one number at a time.

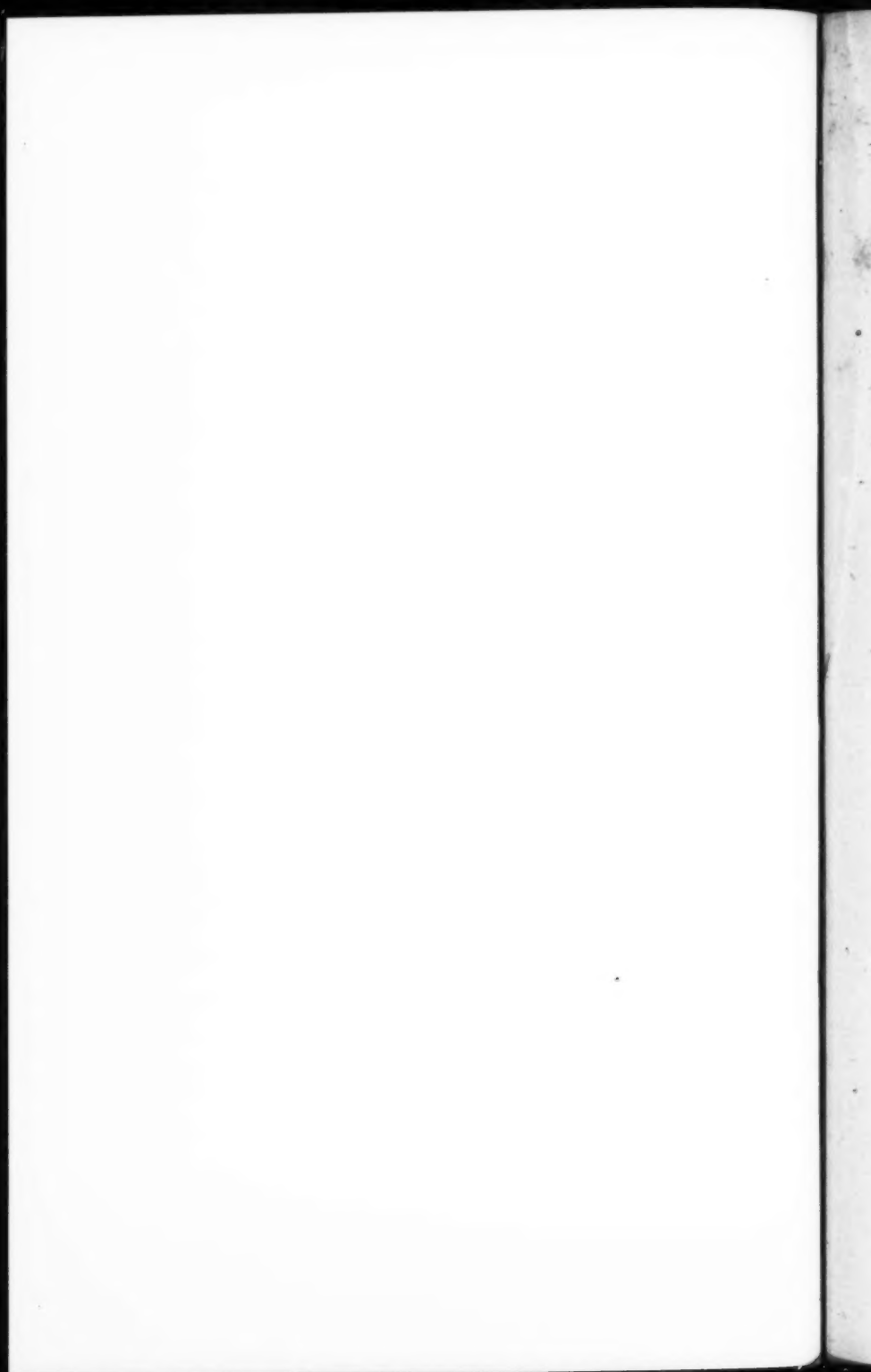
It was once thought to be of great importance to the establishment, the growth, and the efficiency of the charitable and educational institutions founded at Danville, that a strong and earnest periodical, at once orthodox, evangelical and loyal, capable of being the organ of several of them, and especially of the Theological Seminary, should be sustained here by the united efforts of our numerous scholars and divines, and most especially of all the theological professors; and should be sustained in the form of a Quarterly Review. That the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the U. S. A., which was so deeply interested in several of these institutions, and the founder of the Theological Seminary, did not consider the outspoken loyalty of this *Review* any objection to it, in the most religious, nay, most spiritual point of view, the formal and emphatic and reiterated deliverances of that great tribunal sufficiently attest. And now, assuredly, as always heretofore, this *Review* will prefer extinction to an ignominious and feeble existence, without conviction and without vigor enough to plead for human freedom, as a part of revealed religion, or to plead for the triumph of the nation over anarchy, treason and insurrection, or for the triumph of light over darkness.

Whatever may become the unhappy lot of the people of Kentucky, or of the great interests of religion, of letters, of human freedom, and of lasting peace, in this distracted region, most certainly this *Review* will never lend itself to the support of any interest, any party, or any institution, inconsistent with

the principles it has constantly avowed, or with the sentiments it has steadfastly maintained. Whoever may suppose they can serve God, or their generation, more effectually or more becomingly, in a different, if not opposite manner, will probably be sustained, for the time being, by that unhappy combination of parties, both in church and state, which has brought Kentucky to the brink of destruction, and whose overthrow, both in the state and the church, is an indispensable condition of the safety of either.

DANVILLE, KY., *January 21, 1865.*





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